



In Loving Memory Of a Fallen Comrade

Carlo Giuliani is not a victim of police brutality. He is another dead man in the fields of social war. Carlo Giuliani is not a hero. He was a revolutionary who - with dignity - decided to resist violently against what was oppressing him.

We remind all those who will try to build their political careers on the blood of our dead comrade, that he was one of those who you call "provocateur" and "hooligan." Carlo Giuliani does not fit in their funeral orations, or in their crocodile tears.

*We do not feel pity for Carlo. He died for something we would die for and for something that we have dedicated our lives. **For freedom.** Carlo will always live in the hearts of the revolutionaries. The struggle continues...*

They murdered an anarchist

He lay on his back in the street. Eyes closed, arms at his side, legs, akimbo, blue jeans but shirtless. He looked almost peaceful, except for the massive pool of blood that trickled out of two bullet holes to his head.

This young anarchist, Carlo Giuliani, 23 years old, would never again protest, dance, sing, attend meetings, or embrace friends, brush his teeth, or cook breakfast, or love another anymore, murdered in cold blood by police on a sunny afternoon in Genoa, Italy.

Moments later, Carlo encircled the globe, entering homes thousands of kilometers away via the Internet, photographed from a dozen different angles. Once passionate, alive and angry. Seconds later, silenced and still, felled by two gun shots then run over by a police jeep escaping the murder scene.

Millions of us never knew you, Carlo, anarchist brother, but now your name is stenciled on the tongues of the speechless, your lifeless body now fixed in the minds of the incredulous, immortalized on the front page of newspapers. You, alone, within a circle of dozens of blue-helmeted riot cops, staring vacantly, and puzzled over your corpse.

Carlo, you died like a butchered dog in the street, so that a gang of wealthy, powerful criminals could shake hands, smile, slap each others' backs and drink fine Italian wine safely, knowing they had a 20,000 strong body guard, prepared to tear gas, beat and even murder protestors like you, like us, to allow them to conduct their sordid business uninterrupted.

We know they are not troubled by the death of one anarchist or a handful of anarchists, they oversee the daily violence of the State, of Capitalism obliterating whole families, communities, towns, regions, tribes, the needless, preventable deaths of millions worldwide.

One less 'troublemaker' won't stop them.

But Carlo, you tried, and they made you pay with your life.

Your blood Carlo, was hosed away into sewers where it mingled with the blood of the homeless, with the blood of those forced to beg and starve everyday, with the blood of broken boned, poisoned, beaten workers, men, women and children with the blood of others who died at the hands of police, soldiers and hired assassins, your blood infused them all with a fierce rage. The rage of the forgotten, the voiceless the expendable victims of a money-crazed world gone mad.

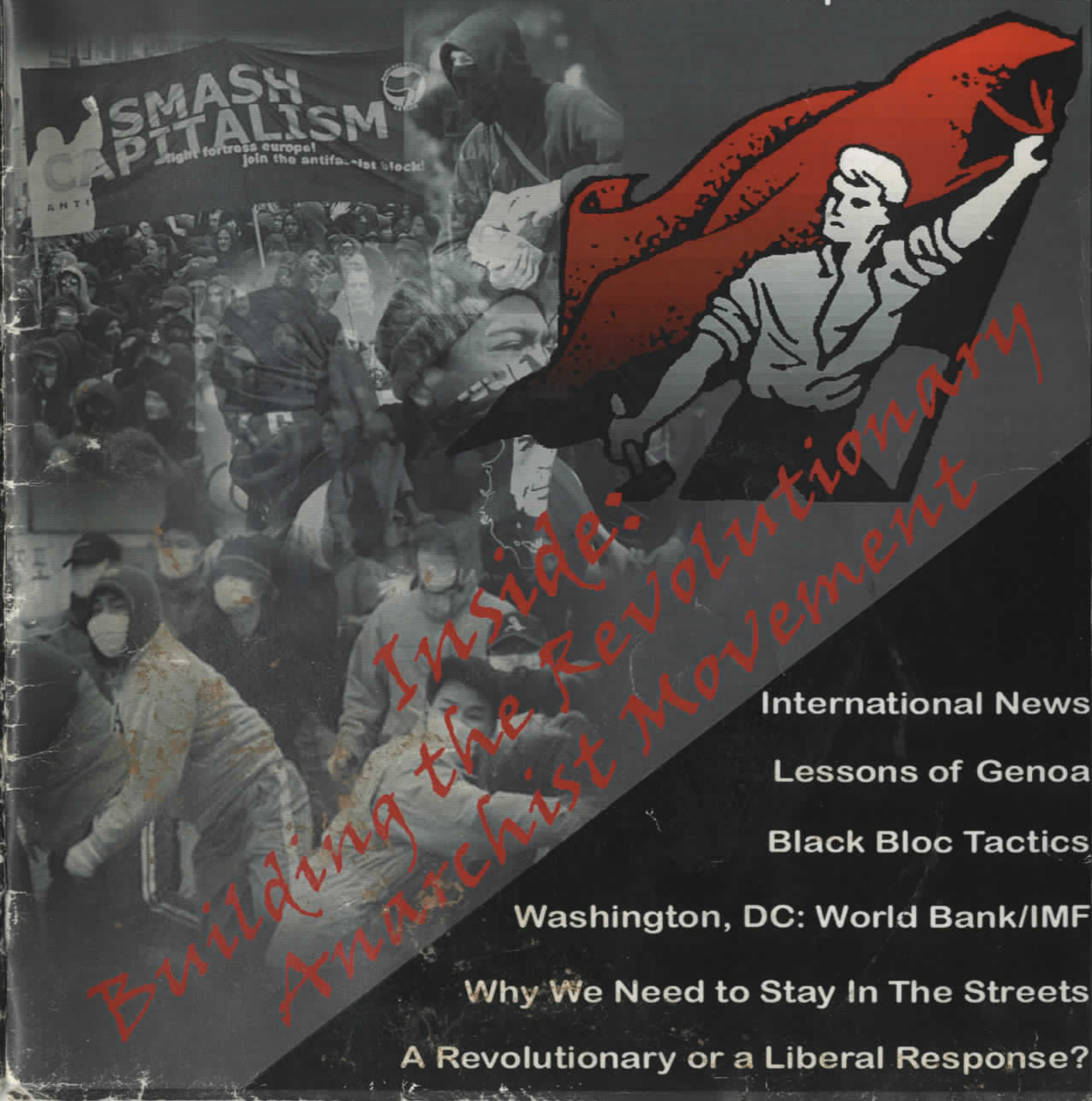
And this blood red rage, rose from the sewers, and poured out of the mouths of screeching rats and spilled into the streets of Genoa, into palaces, boardrooms, reception halls limousines and stained them all red, a carpet of blood. It overflowed into rivers and oceans touched continents far away and crept onto beaches at night staining them red. It oozed its way onto signed agreements, memos and documents that seal our fate, but which we never see & stained them red, too.

To remind everyone of the rage of those like Carlo, who die so others can profit. To remind them that this blood red rage has just begun

BARRICADE

REVOLUTIONARY ANARCHIST MONTHLY

Special Double Issue:
Summer/September 2001



BARRICADA 8, SUMMER/SEPTEMBER 2001

"La Barricada Cierra la Calle, Pero Abre el Camino"

BARRICADA COLLECTIVE STATEMENT

Barricada is a non-partisan, non-hierarchical collective within the radical leftist spectrum with the principle aim of producing and distributing revolutionary propaganda and news.

We work to build class-consciousness through the distribution of radical left wing culture and ideas as an alternative to the state and the capitalist system. To this end we distribute pamphlets, flyers, newsletters, and other forms of propaganda, as well as participating in initiatives which are in line with our general ideas and beliefs.

The Barricada collective opposes electoral politics, the party system, and representative democracy, because we see them as cheapening true democracy and serving to take power and initiative away from the hands of people. We are also opposed to reformist alternatives aimed at making superficial changes to what we view as an inherently flawed system.

We are opposed to nationalism and other artificial divisions of the working class. However, we are also anti-imperialists and as such support oppressed peoples in their struggles of national liberation providing that they maintain a revolutionary leftist character. At the same time we bear in mind that this is not our ideal situation, as our wish is not to see the emergence of more states and borders but instead a stateless, classless society based on the principals of mutual aid, direct democracy, freely federated community structures, and workers self-management.

To this end we justify and encourage the pursuit of the class war, including but not limited to, direct action, workplace sabotage, property damage, mass confrontation, and civil disobedience. We believe that the issue of revolutionary violence should be viewed from a tactical standpoint rather than an ideological one. This said, we believe that the creation of a "culture of resistance," where the state and all other enemies of the working class are at no time safe, is an essential aspect of any social movement, serving to empower people as well as creating an atmosphere ideal for class warfare.

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Please feel free to donate all articles, comments, letters* or other sorts of contributions.

Note: We will print all letters provided we do not find them to be particularly offensive for the obvious reasons (sexist, racist, homophobic, etc.) or simply downright not worthy of space.

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The Barricada Collective runs a low-traffic, moderated, e-mail list to inform its readers about activities of the collective, initiatives we support, and upcoming mobilizations. If you wish to subscribe please email us at barricadacollective@hotmail.com and let us know.

SUBSCRIBE TO BARRICADA

I have enclosed \$15 for 6 issues (USA and Canada)

I have enclosed ___ for a supporters subscription

I have enclosed 20\$ for a subscription in Western Europe
(Money Orders are best, checks with pay to the order of blanks next, or well concealed cash at your own risk)

The Barricada website will be up and running within the next few weeks. Look for it at ...

www.barricada.org

BARRICADA #8, SUMMER/SEP. 2001

EDITORIAL - ANARCHISTS AND THE NYC TRAGEDY

Just as we are going to press, tragic events are unfolding in the U.S. of which we are sure you are all aware. We want to make our position very clear: we stand in direct opposition to the misanthropic "radicals" who have come forward to defend and justify the terrorist attacks. The vast majority of the people killed in the Twin Towers and aboard the planes were innocent working class people; there can be no justifying their deaths. At the same time we recognize that there is no difference between these actions and the acts of State Terrorism carried out daily by the U.S. government and ruling class against countless people throughout the world. We condemn all such actions and are deeply saddened by their occurrence.

As we mourn for the victims, we also must consider what the political fallout of these attacks will be. Surely, we as revolutionaries, who have already been called "terrorists" by the rabid rulers of so many a nation, will come under assault as the U. S. "declares war on terrorism," and limits civil liberties.

We must prepare ourselves not only for this, but also, and perhaps more importantly, for racist attacks against Arabic people, and potentially even a large scale war, as the media and government rush to the assumption that this was an Islamic fundamentalist attack. We must push for our working class brothers and sisters to ask themselves why this attack happened, what is it about the U.S. that others find so terrible? At the same time we should reach out to the ordinary Arab and Muslim people, who share our condemnation of these horrible actions, and offer as much protection from racist attacks by "vigilante" groups that we can.

As politicians attempt to make the most political gain out of this tragedy as possible, they will attempt to inspire patriotic zeal, racist propaganda, and vicious war-mongering. Already Bush has ludi-

crously claimed that the terrorists are simply "evil" and attack us because we "are a beacon of freedom to the world." As anarchists, we cannot afford to bury our heads in the sand and pretend this tragedy never occurred. Our goal should be to get people to see the real roots of this attack: the U.S. State's imperialism and terror. Clearly the message we should be drawing from this attack is that we, the working class of the U.S., will continue to suffer from these horrible acts of indiscriminate revenge so long as the ruling class of this country wage their own war on the world's poor.

Magazine

All this aside, we also wanted to let our readers know what's been happening with Barricada, what direction we are headed in as a revolutionary project, and what you can expect from us in the near future.

First off, we feel we owe all of our readers a sincere apology. Due to many factors (personal, financial, and otherwise), we were unable to produce either a June issue or a Summer issue of the magazine, as we had planned to do. For this reason, we are making this a one-time double sized issue. However, as always, we are plagued by financial woes, and would like to ask, again, for any monetary support you can provide us.

Also, we have decided to change the subtitle of the magazine, as you may have noticed, from "Revolutionary Leftist Publication" to "Revolutionary Anarchist Monthly." When we began publishing the maga-

zine, many of us in the collective felt uncomfortable with limiting our politics to simply anarchism, citing a plethora of other revolutionary tendencies as strongly influential in our understanding. However, given the resurgence of a radical and militant movement throughout the world, we feel the necessity of distancing ourselves from opportunist, authoritarian, and reformist groups, putting forward a coherent tactical and theoretical position. To this end, you will notice that we are running a section called "Building the Revolutionary Anarchist Movement."

Perhaps most importantly to us, however, is where we are headed in terms of concrete action. There has been a lot of discussion about symbolic versus direct action, and of mass confrontation versus community organizing, of late. Many people seem to be painting these questions as an either or scenario. We feel that all of these types of activity, as well as many others, are valuable and necessary if we are to defeat capitalism. Many of us do feel that increased attention to local issues and increased reliance on direct action is the direction we need to head in, however. In order to facilitate this, we intend to work closely with an effort to initiate a large scale anti-capitalist mobilization in Boston, around May Day of 2002. More information on this will be included in the October issue of Barricada.

Yours for the Revolution,

The Barricada Collective



BARRICADA #8, SUMMER/SEP. 2001



INTERNATIONAL NEWS BRIEFS

LONG ISLAND: E.L.F. STRIKES AGAIN

On Tuesday August 21st members of the Earth Liberation Front, paid visit to the newly built bio-tech building for Cold Spring Harbor Laboratories, located on Sunnyside Blvd. in Plainville, Long Island.

Here activists inflicted heavy damages to their exterior air filtration and coolant systems, by smashing thermostats and computer

instruments, and damaging extensively insulation to coolant pipes.

The building was donned with slogans denouncing genetic engineering, one reading "tampering with biodiversity = extinction", the other reading "Love E.L.F.". Upon retreat windows were also smashed.

This was a warning shot from the Long Island community to the Labs, that the technologies they develop have potentially drastic and lethal consequences.

Be forewarned that we are watching your every move, and if you thought for one second that you could keep your new Plainville lab location under wraps you were gravely mistaken. We watch your every step.

E.L.F."



It is often the case that pictures speak louder than words. With that in mind, we have decided to respond to the often repeated lie that militant tactics are alienating to "the people" and therefore reserved to "young angry white kids."

These are but a few recent examples, out of an almost endless list, of people around the world taking militant action in order to fight the class war.

The pictures on the top and bottom right are from a demonstration on September 9 in Santiago, Chile at a demonstration to mark

the anniversary of the Pinochet coup.

The picture on the bottom left is from students in Managua protesting a 15 cent hike increase in bus fares by taking to the streets armed with home made mortars.

Other noticeable recent events include the shooting of a police officer by unemployed demonstrators in Panama and the roadblocks set up by Argentine demonstrators opposed to the government's new austerity programs.

World Wide Resistance, By Any Means Necessary



BARRICADA #8. SUMMER/SEP. 2001



INTERNATIONAL NEWS BRIEFS



WORLD ECONOMIC FORUM ATTACKED IN SALZBURG DESPITE PRE-EMPTIVE REPRESSION

As expected, Austria's far right government made use of almost its entire arsenal of repression in order to prevent disturbances at the World Economic Forum meeting in Salzburg from June 30 to July 3.

Schengen was cancelled, strict controls were placed on trains and at borders, over four thousand policemen (and women) were deployed, and all demonstrations were banned in the city except for the square in front of the train station.

All this for less than one thousand demonstrators (as this was soon after Barcelona and right before Genoa).

Despite the very uneven odds, about one thousand people managed to break out of the heavily guarded square and hold an illegal march in the direction of the congress center. Upon arrival at the security barriers, several attempts to enter were made (despite the pacifist attempts to stop them), as the photo to the right shows. The march made it to within 150 meters before being surrounded and trapped by police for over six hours. Twelve arrests were made.



FOURTH CONGRESS OF NEFAC



The fourth NorthEastern Federation of Anarcho-Communists (NEFAC) conference was held in Boston on the weekend of August 9 to 11.

Most notable, the Federation continues to grow at a steady pace, incorporating four new supporter collectives as well as several new individual members and supporters.

The four new supporter collectives are RASH Montreal, Black Hammer Anarchist Collective (NYC), Freyhey (Toronto), and Barricada (Boston).

One of the most significant decisions of the conference was that the federation would like to see the anarchist movement begin to move away from "summit hopping" and towards community oriented initiatives with a militant backing, thus working to create a true dual power.

The federation also voted to involve itself in the organizing for the upcoming mobilization against the World Bank and IMF in Washington DC in order to present a viable alternative to purely symbolic action, in the form of real direct action.

Furthermore, NEFAC is publishing a call (included in the DC section of this magazine) as well as a four page tabloid to be distributed during the days of action.

The federation also made some structural changes, such as adding a "Friends of NEFAC" initiative for those who are supportive of NEFAC and desire to keep up with the activities of the federation.

An additional part of the conference included a women's congress as well as a people of color congress.

It is inspiring to see the continued growth of organized revolutionary anarchism in the Northeast, both in terms of numbers of people and theoretical development. We can only hope that the example of NEFAC will serve as a point of reference for the creation of similar structures across North America.



BARRICADA #8. SUMMER/SEP. 2001





INTERNATIONAL NEWS BRIEFS

WE ARE NOT VICTIMS, WE ARE VICTORS: THE EU SUMMIT IN GOTHENBURG

We will not enter into the details of what happened in Gothenburg, as it has been three months now since these events and most people should already be familiar with what took place.

As a short summary though, we would like to remind everybody that the police surrounded and eventually raided a convergence center that was given to the demonstrators by the city itself and guaranteed as a demilitarized zone. This took place before absolutely anything had happened.

The next day, the police fired into a crowd of demonstrators (mostly black bloc) wounding three, one seriously.

Still not content, on the evening of the sixteenth they surrounded and retained for hours an anti-police brutality demonstration, before sending the anti-terrorist squad armed with automatic weapons into another school where demonstrators were sleeping. Here they proceeded to beat people, throw them down flights of stairs, torture them (for example, twisting noses in order to get people to "talk" and making them lie in the rain in their underwear while periodically kicking and beating them).

This is all indeed quite unfortunate. However, we at Barricada do not believe in posing as victims in order to appeal to popular sympathy. That moralistic argument we reserve for pacifists. There was indeed a strong repression, but only because the organized radical resistance was powerful enough to scare the Swedish state into dropping the mask of benevolence.

Every time there was police repression, the resistance was even stronger.

As the police surrounded Hvitfeldska school, hundreds inside masked up and took to building barricades. Those who were at the Bush demonstration redirected themselves and fought pitched battles with police in order to aide in the escape of those

trapped inside.

Those inside tried to fight there way out as a group, only to be thwarted, not only by the police, but by the delays caused by the media whoring of the White Overalls and their many tactical blunders.

Despite this, many fought their way out of the school, escaping in full black bloc gear through a line of police, a small forest, a ring of steel containers, and yet another line of police.

On the next day, June 15, police yet again provoked, surrounding the black bloc on three sides and charging into it with dogs and on horseback.

Yet again, the response of the almost one thousand person black bloc was ferocious. Hundreds charged the police, repeatedly forcing them to retreat, while others erected barricades and dug up cobblestones on Gothenburg's most exclusive avenue, the Avenyn.

After several hours of pitched battle, the bloc began to disperse, but not before completely destroying (and often looting) the avenue of the rich. Banks, exclusive stores, McDonalds and Burger Kings, elite cafes, exchange stores. Furthermore, hundreds repeatedly attacked and destroyed po-

lice vehicles.

At night the battle raged once more, as police attacked a Reclaim the Streets, trying to disperse it, only to find themselves surrounded on all sides by an angry black bloc and local youths. Repeatedly they were charged and forced to retreat, several receiving direct cobblestone hits to the head.

There can be no doubt about it. Gothenburg was a clear victory for all of those who seek a total rupture with the established system. Our enemies received a loud and clear message. They are afraid that the message will spread, and it is for that reason that the media campaign of disinformation has been so intense and the repression so heavy.

Unfortunately for them, the writing was already on the wall, "When will they ever learn... When Police Attack, We Fight Back"

The Battle of Gothenburg is not yet over, and it is now time to support those who are bearing the brunt of the repression (not only the prisoners, but AFA as well).

The spray painting on the outside of Hvitfeldska school could not have been more eloquent, "...But in the End, *We* Will Win!"

The Barricada Collective



THE BLACK BLOC IN GENOA, AN AFFINITY GROUP'S ACCOUNT

This is the account of some comrades present in Genoa for the G8 summit who participated in the black bloc. It is based on their first hand experiences as well as discussions with other black bloc participants and personal accounts.

Before beginning the account, some general comments:

The hunting of anarchists and the little solidarity shown to the black bloc is quite frankly shameful and disgusting.

The fact is the "black bloc" was composed of thousands of dedicated individuals, not all anarchists or foreigners, concentrating on certain targets and practicing revolutionary self defense not "senseless violence". As a participant in the bloc, the feeling was we were protecting ourselves. The state utilize what ever mean available to it to fight, silence, and repress us, hence we utilized any means available to us, to protect ourselves against this brutality and repression. This is not to say that the bloc was infallible, but most of the accounts of "black bloc attacks" on other demonstrators or on questionable targets are so flimsy and based on hearsay that it is hard to take them seriously.

Genoa was not just a riot; it was a battle against capitalism and against the G8 for being a figurehead of exploitation and repression. No movement is ever successful without a diversity of tactics or respect and space for everyone's means of expressing and fighting against this corrupt and brutal system. This tangent could go on for pages with examples, comments, and historical, but that would be an entirely different piece, so it will stop here.

It was amazing to see the diversity of people who came together to form this bloc in terms of age, background, etc. to form this offensive bloc, and particularly the amount of women. Furthermore, it was wonderful to see the respect and equality that was shown to the women. Being from America it was refreshing to see a culture of resistance that did not marginalize women, but rather involved them on an equal footing, hence making them more comfortable taking on leading rolls.

I was also happy to see the amount of militant labor unions involved (such as the CNT) in the demonstrations.

Finally, it was interesting to see that the average age of people at the bloc organizing meetings was late 20s, early 30s, and the faces were not all those of middle class white men.

This account will begin with the first meeting for the revolutionaries and anarchists who had arrived in Genoa.

July 16-

It was decided after visiting one of the local social centers (a squatted warehouse) by the name of Pinelli, that it was time for the internationals wanting to work outside of

the GSF (Genoa social Forum) guidelines to come together and start to organize. The Italian Anarchists, during our night at Pinelli, made it seem that they had done very little organizing and planning for the days of action, apart from the peaceful worker/union march planned for the afternoon of the 20th. Needless to say most international radicals, "terrorists", "hooligans", and whatever else is the popular corporate media term of the week for us, were anxious to make sure that on the days of action we were as productive and effective as possible.

At 9 pm at Carlini Stadium the first meeting took place. A comrade and I moderated, but we and the other 150 or so people found that a better system was needed to discuss an agenda when our numbers would be increasing drastically as the 20th and 21st approached. We decided on a delegate structure of sorts, where everyone would be present in a general assembly during which the agenda would be made, then we would break off into affinity groups to discuss the

agenda, then a delegate from each affinity group would be sent to a delegates meeting, where some sort of consensus would decisions could be made and then finally be brought back to the larger group for some sort of final consensus. This was perhaps not the most effective structure in the world, but it at least made it somewhat possible to get things done in a very large group (of sometimes up to 300 or 400 people).

In this first delegates meeting the question of whether we should move out from the Carlini stadium was discussed, as it was the designated center for the civil disobedience bloc, meaning groups such as the White Overalls/Ya Basta, and there were and are serious political and tactical differences and between revolutionaries and anarchists and the White Overalls.

The Europeans present at this delegate meeting impressed on the group that they found the White Overalls to be "media whores", were becoming rather reformist, and did not follow through with their "attacks." Furthermore, they often times interfered with the Black/Blue Bloc tactics. This is a claim which, after the days of action, it is very difficult to disagree with.

Thus, it was decided to leave Carlini stadium and push for all the revolutionary types arriving to stay at Sciorba Stadium, a block away from Pinelli, where it was decided our daily meetings would take place at 8 pm.

We then proceeded to draft a call informing anarchists arriving in the city over the next 5 days on where to go in order to plug in to organizing as well as getting accurate information. In this call we also included why we were separating from the GSF. We were uncomfortable with the restrictions on our organizing and tactics, as well as the general political orientation of the GSF. One of the main clauses that the GSF set which was important in us breaking off was that of "no sticks, no stones, no fire" Though we did not mention that specifi-

cally in our public statement, we found this to illustrate the GSF's attempts to define, hinder, and control the tactics of all those present at the protest as well as, as we later found, provide a pretext to push the "bad" protesters out and away and towards the police.

The need for communication, equipment, and scouting was then discussed. Delegates volunteered and offered what info they had on places with gas masks and other useful materials around the city. One delegate who happened to be a welder volunteered to check out the fence, so we broke up and took our decisions back to our affinity groups.

July 17th-

International Genoa Offensive

This is the statement that was drafted and distributed...

WHY WE HAVE COME TOGETHER?

- We want to invade the red zone because we reject the legitimacy of the G8 s it is based on the division of nations and the capitalist system.
- We do not want to be limited by the GSF guide lines. The state uses all means available against us therefore we will use all means available to fight against it.
- We created the International Genoa Offensive to organize on our own terms. We want to work closely with Italian groups and organizations in order to achieve the most effective results on the days of action

WHERE?

-Sciorba stadium will be used as an Anarchist center for sleeping. Keep in mind that this is a GSF sanctioned space open to all, not just anarchists. During the day Pinelli will be the anarchist coordinating center.

-We suggest all new comers sleep at Sciorba stadium. Those Anarchists who are already in Genoa are welcome to sleep here as well.

Anarchist daily meetings will be held at: 8:00 pm.

PLACE:

CSOA PINELLI
no. 3 Via P.Pinelli (formerly 9b Via Adamoli)
north east Genoa, quarter of Molassana.

Those responsible for getting the call out, through posters in Genoa and through the internet, spent most of the morning and afternoon translating the call of The International Genoa Offensive or the Anti-National Genoa Offensive into Polish, German, French, Spanish, English, and Italian. A group of about 6 made large posters, about 2 or 3 in each language and broke up to put them up in the sleeping locations, the media center and the Convergence space. Four delegates from the IGO then attended the Pink bloc meeting to invite someone to our meeting that evening at 8 pm to see if perhaps both blocs could work to-



gether. While the IGO delegates were there it was discovered that someone with a GSF badge had ripped all the IGO call posters down off the information board at the Convergence Center. This was seen by many as the last straw and led to a general perception of the GSF as merely another adversary, something that proved to be quite accurate as the events of the weekend unfurled.

The second meeting began at Pinelli at about 8:30 pm. The numbers had doubled from the last meeting and more translations were needed. The general assembly took about 2 hours, often breaking into debate and argument. At one point, a flash went off, a man was using his camera and taking pictures of the meeting. He was immediately asked to stop, yelled at and shouted at, but the man took another, which led to his camera being taken and him being escorted off the premises by 3 large Redskinheads. Eventually, the agenda was finally set. The 20th, the proposal to the pink bloc, materials, a perimeter review, security, co-ordination with Immensa (another social center further out of Genoa), and border/jail solidarity. Affinity groups broke off to discuss the ideas. The delegates came together at about 11:15 pm and it was a quite frankly a mess. There was large tension between the Italian anarchists of Pinelli and the internationals due to the fact they had set up this union labor march from the west side of the city on the 20th away from the red zone while most wanted to start actions against the G8 and the red zone on the morning of the 20th. After some yelling and shouting a relative peace was reached through the simple conclusion that those who wanted to participate in the march would do so, and those who didn't would work on the attacks for the 20th, but we would all be in solidarity which each other and physically together on the 21st. A proposal was drafted to be brought to the pink bloc the next day about starting our marches together on the 20th. This idea came under fire from many Greek anarchists who wanted to see "anarchists in front, behind, all around, why we need the pink?" However, the general consensus was to bring this proposal to them, which involved joining the pink bloc in the morning of the 20th and then, depending on our numbers, split off from them prior to reaching the red zone.

It was at this point nearly 1am and people's patience was fading, leading tempers to flare often. In order to avoid further needless conflicts a list of materials and supplies needed was quickly drafted and each group was made responsible for their own. This list was posted up inside Pinelli so others would know what to be on the lookout for in the next few days. Our final conclusion as a group was not to have a set sleeping place. This worked rather well, as everyone tended to migrate towards each other, so most ended up in a park right off the waterfront, Albaro, or in a stadium further out of the city to the east.

July 18th

As the summit drew closer and closer, everyday the city became more and more like a military zone. Everyday more police vans,

busses, cars and tanks filled the streets, helicopters flew over head, at night with spotlights raining blinding white light on those who walked on the streets.

At 3 pm several people from the IGO headed to the pink bloc meeting. It turned out to be just about as argumentative and tense as ours had been the night before. We brought our proposal, but found the pink bloc, which had originally had a clause "no pro-active use of Molotov, sticks, and stones" but would practice self defense, had been over run by militant pacifists who caused the meeting to break down into a long violence versus non violence debate. The pink bloc option seemed like an obvious no, but they agreed to send some delegates to the IGO meeting regardless.

Some of us approached COBAS, a more militant communist union. A proposal was presented to them which involved IGO joining their section of the GSF zoned march. The women we talked to seemed positive and instructed us to come to their meeting at 6 pm in the media center. We followed here there, then lost her and found no meeting anywhere.

The daily IGO meeting started at 8:30 pm and again the number had doubled. The agenda was set to discuss which group we would converge and march with on the 20th, what materials had been collected, and the rest becomes hard to recall as basically the meeting broke down into endless argument and debate until about 1 am when it was decided to meet again the next day at 9 pm at Immensa Social Center outside of the city.

July 19th-

Many people started to migrate towards the Albaro campground, as it had become the de facto anarchist headquarters. The place certainly felt very much like home, with autonomists and anarcho-syndicalists, as well as all the other varieties, all around, red and black flags flying, and likes.

A smaller group of people had decided to meet there at 2 pm in order to plan an action involving using on of the reformist groups to gain easy access to the red zone by masquerading as ATTAC demonstrators. This meeting however grew to include representatives from pretty much everyone at the camp. Finally, after 4 days of meetings it was decided that on the 20th we would meet up and march with COBAS. Those who were staying at the Albaro camp would meet at 10 am the next morning and join the COBAS march as it passed by at 10:30 am, convening with other Black Blockers at 12 pm at the Piazza Paolo da Novi. It was also decided to move the evening's meeting to Albaro as most people were unwilling to risk traveling one hour out of the city the night before the actions.

That night, after the immigrants rights march (which over 50 thousand took part in and went by without incidents, something we were careful to avoid due to the risks this would present to those in Europe without papers) most returned to the campground, where a security/watch system was set up in case of police raid.

(The Carabinieri Station was about 2 blocks up from the campground, fortified in a hill between the main road along the sea and reaching back to the road that ran in front of the Albaro campground).

At approximately 10 pm, despite the pouring rain, the camp was in full swing preparing for the next day. People tearing up benches, breaking apart polls, fashioning long flag polls, pulling metal bars out of the ground, attaching flags to wooden beams, making molotov cocktails, and collecting everything that could be of use the next day and storing it for the night. It was clear that the coming days would be intense.

July 20th-

Hundreds had assembled with their materials towards the back of the park. 10:30 am came and went, but we saw no march. News that the march had been delayed by police came, as well as that Immensa Social Center was under the attack by the police, tying up some 300 comrades outside the city. As it became clear that the march was not coming, and after a bit of argument, it decided to depart on our own.

A bloc of 500 strong climbed the stairs by 3's and entered on to the street in a sea of black. A chant started. "No Justice, No Peace, Fuck the Police". Spray painting and some re-decoration were done on the way, but it seemed to be a tacit understanding that we were to concentrate on getting to the meeting point and not getting stopped before hand. Despite a few minor directional confusions we arrived at the meeting point to a sea of red COBAS flags and other masked comrades.

As we marched in, and swelled in numbers, some began to attack certain targets. As a bank was being thoroughly destroyed, cops came in from the right. A brief offensive was staged involving a few Molotovs and stones. At this point the cops deployed tear gas and charged. As a result, one black bloc sector, numbering around 500 people, was pushed towards the sea, while another much larger sector, of probably at least two thousand, was pushed north into the city.

The bloc on the south, towards the sea, began to assemble barricades out of trash collectors, wood, and whatever other materials were available. Fires were started in some of the trash collectors (dumpsters). In the meantime, others continued to target the faces of capitalism, such as an abundance of banks and gas stations. Desks, chairs, computers, and other materials from the banks were pulled out and added to the barricades. Soon enough the police charged again, leading to a brief confrontation, an attempted charge by the bloc (of about 5 people actually) and then yet another retreat towards the sea. This process continued for about an hour until the bloc was finally pushed to the street right in front of the GSF convergence center. (A parking lot on the edge of the sea, literally).

There, thanks to some flaming barricades, people were able to regroup and attack some more banks as well as a car dealership. One main bank was set on fire.

The situation facing the bloc was

grim to say the least. Facing into the city from the waterfront, to the sharpest right there was a steep staircase leading up into city neighborhoods. To the more gradual right the main road on which we were located leading towards the COBAS camp, Albaro, and the fortified police station. Straight ahead were the barricades, and to the left was the central police headquarters, with trucks, vans, tanks, etc. On all sides there were carabinieri.

For about half an hour this location was secured, during this time more banks were destroyed, as well as a Lufthansa office which was covered with the "Stop Deportation" slogan. Eventually the police charged once more, deploying heavy amounts of tear gas, forcing everyone, black bloc and COBAS alike, to retreat into the GSF convergence center. Immediately everybody, regardless of political and tactical preferences, began barricading the entrances to the 12 foot high fences that lined the convergence center.

For about one hour, the almost one thousand people inside the convergence center lined the fence, throwing rocks at the police in the distance and firing slingshots. At this point most people began to migrate to the back of the parking lot, along the rocks of the sea and out the other end of the convergence center, further down the road, in the direction of the COBAS camp, already past the riot police barricade on that side.

About 500 Cobas and black blockers were left. They marched together in the direction of the COBAS campground. When the march reached the police station rocks were thrown at the windows, the security cameras destroyed, and the walls spray-painted. About a block past the police station, a faction of COBAS began blocking the street, refusing to let the bloc pass. This essentially left us trapped between them, the sea, and the riot police station.

Needless to say, this generated fighting between the groups, as these COBAS militants were basically violating all standards and principles of solidarity by doing what amounted to sacrificing the, now no larger than 200 people, bloc to the police. After 20 minutes or so of confrontation and sporadic fighting they stepped back and allowed the bloc to pass.

At this point, most of the black bloc people present decided to change and disperse in order to reach other areas of the city where the possibilities for action were greater.

While all this was occurring, the large bloc which headed north, which eventually swelled to over three thousand people, marched for several hours through the city, destroying all the symbols of capitalism in its path (from banks to luxury cars, to chain store supermarkets). Eventually barricades began to be set up strategically to block the police from access to the entire area of the blocs activity. Some stayed behind to man these barricades, while others split into two main groups. One which headed to attack a prison, and another in the direction of the red zone.

Those who headed to attack the prison were able to chase away the few riot police stationed there and do substantial damage to the administrative building of the prison via the use of molotov cocktails. Eventually however, riot police came in from behind and forced them to

retreat to the area of the "White Hands" pacifists. The situation with these authoritarian moralists quickly became unbearable and the bloc dispersed to look for more suitable areas of action.

Those who headed to attack the red zone, eventually joined by many of those who had headed for the prison, ended up engaging in a massive confrontation with hundreds of carabinieri under and in front of a tunnel which led to the general area of the red zone. It was during this battle that a situation similar to that which caused the death of Carlo Giuliani arose, where carabinieri used their vehicles to charge black bloc barricades. However, they were met with energetic resistance and one was cut off from the group and attacked. In this case however, the shots were fired into the air.

After this battle, the bloc once again began to disperse into many smaller groups. A supermarket was raided and looted, by black blockers as well as local residents, and barricades were erected virtually everywhere.

Not far from all this, the Ya Basta! bloc was engaging the police. However, as soon as the situation turned from spectacle to real confrontation, Ya Basta!, despite being very well equipped, chose to retreat. Fortunately, many of the rank and file, rightfully outraged at the police violence, the murder (of which word was spreading quickly), and the attitudes of the Ya Basta! elders, were quick to disobey and continue the fight along with black bloc elements and some very angry locals.

Almost simultaneously, another battle erupted on a bridge near the Ya Basta! bloc. Approximately two hundred black blockers and several hundred others were at a stand-off with police. There were charges and countercharges from both sides on the bridge. Eventually, through the use of abundant amounts of tear gas, the police cleared the bridge. They stayed right where the stairs met the bridge and where the bridge curved. Everyone then set about building barricades along the bottom of the bridge and out along the street, using the small dumpsters, materials from a gas station, some newspaper cases, and metal fences nearby. Once the barricades were built, people began to collect stones and other materials to defend against the tear gas canisters and the large canister bullets.

As the situation reached an apparent standstill, two large tanks appeared and barreled down the bridge, destroying the barricades with ease. (It was at this point that yet another bank was set on fire and totally destroyed)

A group of about twenty was pushed into the hills on the outskirts of the city. During the retreat through the steep, small and winding hills which lasted well over one hour, luxury cars were destroyed and barricades erected to slow the police in case of further advances.

The rest of the day essentially consisted of sporadic fighting between pockets of demonstrators and carabinieri, as people retreated to vacate Albaro for fear of a raid (it looked deserted by late afternoon and many chose to sleep at the convergence center), reflect on the death of our comrade, and the course of action for the 21st.

July 21st-

This was to be the day of the large offensive and attack on the red zone. Many estimated ten thou-

sand people would break from the march and attack the red zone, but the question remained as to how they would all assemble themselves into one large bloc. Many simply decided that, rather than marching out of the city simply to march back in, it would be best to wait at the convergence center and assemble people there.

At around 2 pm the first parts of the seemingly endless march began to pass into the city, turning north upon reaching the convergence center. Eventually, people began to head straight towards the police headquarters rather than turning north. The banks that had been attacked the first day were re-entered and materials collected for barricades. Another group moved a car into the street and flipped it, eventually setting it on fire.

The line of 100 or so riot cops continually deployed gas, forcing a large part of the at least two thousand people attacking back due to lack of equipment car burning. Fortunately, the police advance was slow due to the burning car and barricades.

Eventually people started heading up a large avenue north into the city. Three more banks were destroyed at this point. At one point, a line of carabinieri came flying around a corner sending many running in all directions.

At this points, the peaceniks began refusing many entry into the large march, once again, delivering them to the police. This led to some insults in both directions, and some confrontations which involved black bloc people deciding that the spitting, the insults, and accusations were unacceptable ("this movement doesn't need you," "you are all cops," and things of this sort, plus a wide range of slurs).

The irony of the situation, of a group who claims some false moral high ground because their tactics differ from ours, are willing to physically harm us and push us in the hands of the police, whom most of us deem the greater enemy, because we are "violent," should not be lost on anybody.

The march continued and a smaller bloc, of about 300 formed up towards the back, with small fighting continuing with the police lines advancing behind. The march then passed under a set of three bridges (the same place as the large confrontation of the previous day). On the other side, the bloc decided to barricade to try and stop or at least delay the advancing police. Bank windows on the side of the street were smashed and the protective ply wood on the main door and windows pulled off. The wood and dumpsters were pushed to block each of the three exits from the tunnels under the bridge. The bank was then entered and boxes, carts, desks, and all else were added to the barricades. There was then an effort to push the barricades further into the tunnel. As the barricades were moved in, a group tipped a car over and added into the middle tunnel exit. While this was being set up another portion of the bloc was collecting loose cobblestones and bricks from the courtyard next to the bank and stacking them neatly behind the barricades. Once the barricades were set and in the right place they were set on fire, and loose papers and cardboard were brought from the bank to keep the fire burning.



At this point people continued heading north, systematically attacking every bank and gas station that was passed. However, it soon became clear that the police had either gone around or broken through the tunnel barricades as tear gas clouds could be seen emerging from that area. Many headed back to find an intense pitched battle with police on a diagonal street one block north from the tunnel.

The rest of the day consisted primarily of small groups of black bloc people, as well as many others who chose to fight back, engaging in small confrontations all over the city. The concerted large attack on the red zone never took place, as the police acted intelligently, constantly dividing and dispersing focal points of fighting. Regardless, a quick tour of the city revealed astonishing amounts of property damage, as well as several charred police vehicles.

At night, for some strange reason, there was a very festive mood at the convergence center. Apparently the death of comrades doesn't strike too close to home with many pacifists.

In disgust, many decided to head to the school in front of the Indymedia center. A place deemed not only comfortable, but safe. As everyone should know by now, this was a grave mistake.

At the school, some other redskin comrades commenting on how they had just been stopped by police and were being beaten, when a reporter happened to walk by and they called out and soon he came over, and then more reporters showed up, so the police let them go. This moment distinctly sticks out as one of the large tough redskins (of which there were well over one hundred in Genoa) known for frontline fighting commented, "I really thought I was going to die." Evidently, a new degree of intensity had been reached on both sides.

At approximately midnight, two people came running down the street yelling "Polizia, Polizia." Those who were outside quickly sought cover, either in the Indymedia center across the street.

From inside the Indymedia center, masked policemen could be seen throwing bottles at windows as hundreds of carabinieri stormed around the corner, using their vans to destroy the

entrance gates to the school before pouring in and massacring those inside. For the record, there was absolutely no attempt made to resist their entrance, yet despite this, over 60 people (out of approximately 90) were hospitalized with broken bones, deep gashes, and some even in critical condition. Some were luckier and managed to escape through the back.

Inside the Indymedia center people were desperately securing and hiding film documenting the police brutality and misconduct of the past two days; others were quickly pulling helmets, masks, etc. out of their bags to discard on the floor, but most were gathered around the windows watching the police break into the school.

Soon enough, the sound of police breaking through the doors to the Indymedia desk and the shouts of people on the floor became clear. They came in and ordered everyone into the hall. Three of the officers remained masked as they passed in and out of the rooms. Two were plain clothed, with their masks, bandanas, removed and tied round their necks.

They tapped their batons in their hands as they strolled up and down the hall. About 10 minutes later, one officer discovered a video camera still filming the hall, this led to some yelling in Italian and then the camera was into one of the rooms, where one could hear it being destroyed. They also destroyed various computers, disks, cameras, and video. About 15 minutes later a man wearing a corporate media pass followed by another man with a video camera entered the floor, exchanged some friendly comments with the police, headed to the back of the hall, and recorded everyone sitting against the walls on video. Throughout this, shouts, screams, and cries, from the school Diaz could be heard.

About 30 minutes after the police arrived on the Indymedia floor, a woman dressed in orange came up and exchanged some angry words with the policeman who seemed to be in charge. Five minutes after this the police exited the floor.

It was later revealed that the woman was an Italian senator who happened to be doing an interview on the corporate media floor when the police raided, and if it had not been for this coincidence the fate of those in the Indymedia center would very likely have been the same as that of those in the school across the street.

All the people in the Media building lined the front fence as the ambulances began to arrive and the massacre that occurred in front began to become evident. The horror unfurl before us. About 50 or so riot police stood guard in front of the school gates, and vans, trucks, and re-enforcements waited at either end of the street.

One by one our comrades were brought out on stretchers, some conscious and others not, and several still inside the sleeping bags they were in when the police arrived.

The cop who appeared to be in charge, made a show of pulling on a warm up jacket which had an Italian flag sash around it. Evidently, they were quite proud of the work they had done.

About an hour into this process three cops left the building carrying a dark green plastic bag, though later it turned out to be confiscated "evidence," the style of the bag and the way the three policemen were carrying it resembled a body bag. This led to screams and shouts, as well as some tense moments as people began approaching the riot cops.

At this, some GSF officials linked up to create a line between the riot police and people on the street. One Polish comrade who witnessed some of his friends being wheeled out, screamed "I'd rather be in jail with my comrades than hide here like a coward". He then began to try and push through to the lines of riot police.

Apparently, upon catching up with him later, the GSF reps tied his hands with rope and brought him back inside the building.

When the police eventually departed, people went over to the school to assess the damage and to gather everybody's belongings.

Upon entering, the sight one was greeted with was of nothing but blood, flesh, teeth, and urine. Everywhere somebody had been sleeping one could see a corresponding pool of blood.

As people were gathering belongings a man wearing a corporate media badge was noticed reading one of the journals. Disgusted, several people snatched it from him. He proceeded to make a snide comment to which somebody responded by providing him with a hard push towards the door and escorting him out.

Over the next few days, people gradually left the city of Genoa, small groups were often picked off and arrested by police (prompting many to leave together on special trains), and information began to rain in about injuries, arrests, torture, and the like.

The events of Genoa will be engraved in the minds of many revolutionaries for years to come. There are important conclusions to be reached from this, and other, events, but this account is not the place. However, if anything, these events should serve as yet another reminder of the violence of the state and the necessity of organizing and fighting back by any means necessary.

BUILDING THE REVOLUTIONARY ANARCHIST MOVEMENT

As the tide of resistance to global capitalism grows, and with it the international revolutionary anarchist movement, we must look to our history and carefully analyze our present situation so that we can move beyond a liberal-reformist protest movement to a struggle for complete revolution. At the heart of how to get from here to there are questions not only of what is the most effective role we can play in the current movement, and what forms of activity we should be engaged in, but also important questions regarding our relations with other groups and tendencies.

We must begin to realize that not all of those involved in this "anti-globalization movement" are our allies, despite what they may say in public. While it is important and rational to fight against a dividing of the movement, we must seriously consider whether or not we are all a part of the same "movement." We cannot afford to wait until it is too late, as our comrades in Spain and Russia did in the past, to see the opportunists for what they are: traitors waiting to stab us in the back.

At the same time, while we wage the battle of ideas against our reformist and authoritarian "allies," there is an even larger hurdle we face in building the revolutionary struggle against capitalism; that is, the general lack of popular support we enjoy here in the US. We cannot afford to involve ourselves only as small groups working in subcultures and protests. We need to take definitive and radical action on issues that effect the daily lives of the working class, as anarchists. We need to build real revolutionary structures to challenge capitalism, as anarchists.

This section of the magazine, "Building the Revolutionary Anarchist Movement" is dedicated to articles, essays, and calls—some from us, some from people with whom we are sympathetic—which put forward ideas about where we go from here.

GENOA WILL NOT BE PORTO ALEGRE

This text was written by anarchist comrades from Greece in anticipation of the anti-G8 demonstrations of July in Genoa. The text on page 14 was written by the Main Noire (Montreal) group for distribution during the April Summit of the Americas.

While we do not necessarily agree with absolutely everything they say, we certainly do identify with the general spirit and message.

The Barricada Collective

For the development of an "opponent awe" against the modern tyranny, its apologists and reformers... For "being wherever it happens and wherever we are to make it happen"... For the passage from protest to revolt... For global social revolution... For Anarchy...

Today, while globalization proceeds

-armed with new "visions" for looting and redistributing the planet, after the collapse of the bipolar world, which allowed anew the geographical and social maps to become areas for the operation, the development and the imposition of the western capitalist model, having in key-roles transnational political and economic institutions (as the G8 and the EU - the IMF, the World Bank and WTO)...

- armed with the "achievements" of technology (informatics, genetics, biotechnology) which become the new instruments for the domestication of humans and nature, the new means of control and repression, transforming the power not only in numbers but in quality by providing it infinite possibilities to be diffused, turning society into a prison...

- armed with criminal military and police mer-

cenary staffs (NATO, CIA, FBI and Europol) and with global strategies for the order enforcement and the criminalization of resistance (international "antiterrorist" laws), and armed as well with a modernized ideological arsenal -deriving from the, otherwise sanguinary, humanitarian and democratic western civilization- which is to fabricate the necessary social consent to the transaction of death operations...

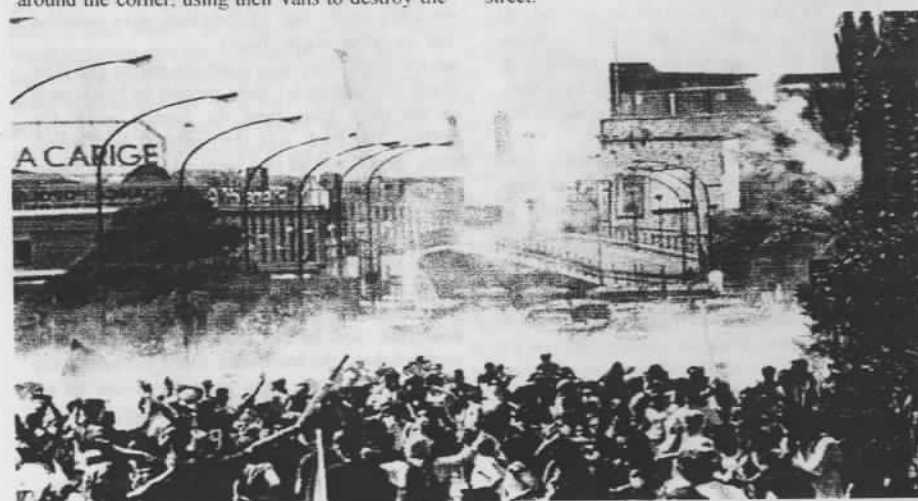
Today, the matter of posing a rival awe against this modern dictatorship of the State and Capital, is more urgent than ever.

And that is because along with the new ideology emerging by the dominant block of authority, who talk about "human rights" and "humanitarian wars", "societies of consuming prosperity", "development, security and modernization", about "democratic participation" in the governing of the world through the "Civil Society" and the NGOs, we also see the reappearance of some downgraded servants of the regime, nationalists, priests, professional unionists, workers patriarchy, this time disguised as "resisters" to globalization. They appear first in order to negotiate their own entrance in the new era and then to enslave in their rusty chains the authentic social resistance, buying off this way a role in the game of domination, as valuable supporters of social consent and guarantors of lawfulness.

This reality increasingly confirms the struggles that have the character or rupture with all forms of domination, that their identity originates in the radical rejection of the establishment and that promote its total destruction, without illusions of negotiating with institutions which only expand survival in a world empty of life and freedom. And even more visible becomes the desire for the

growth of this antagonistic pole within the new global scene, for communication between the different struggles and for their potential coordination...

The insurrectional moments that marked the mobilizations in Amsterdam, London, Seattle, Prague, Nice, Napoli and Quebec, by acquiring global resonance, represent an expression of that perspective beyond the "good" and the "evil" (on the one hand the defense of the old world and its values, such as patriotism, religion, labor, and on the other its modernization). These moments are the stigma of a threat from below in the foundations of the new order, against its much-praised omnipotence and the defeatism it produces. It is also an expression of a different globalization, with universal and anti-regime character, a globalization of resistance and solidarity for a world without borders... They are clashes that break out with every chance, like for example where the transnational economic and political apparatuses organize their conferences... Clashes that constitute only moments of the social and class war which takes place everyday and in every place of the planet and which includes all small or big actions of resistance against the State and the bosses. It is the social war that was expressed by the aggressive actions in the streets of Athens the night of Clinton's visit, with the indigenous uprising that swept Ecuador, with the violent conflicts between the workers on strike and the police in Seoul, with the burnt properties of the multinationals that produce genetically modified products in N. America, with the militant demonstrations in Santiago, Buenos Aires and Sao Paulo in Latin America... It is the same war that continues inside and outside the prisons, against the programs of extermination for the political prisoners, against the white cells in Turkey, against the FIES isolation system in Spain, for the liberation of the fighters from RAF and Action Directe in

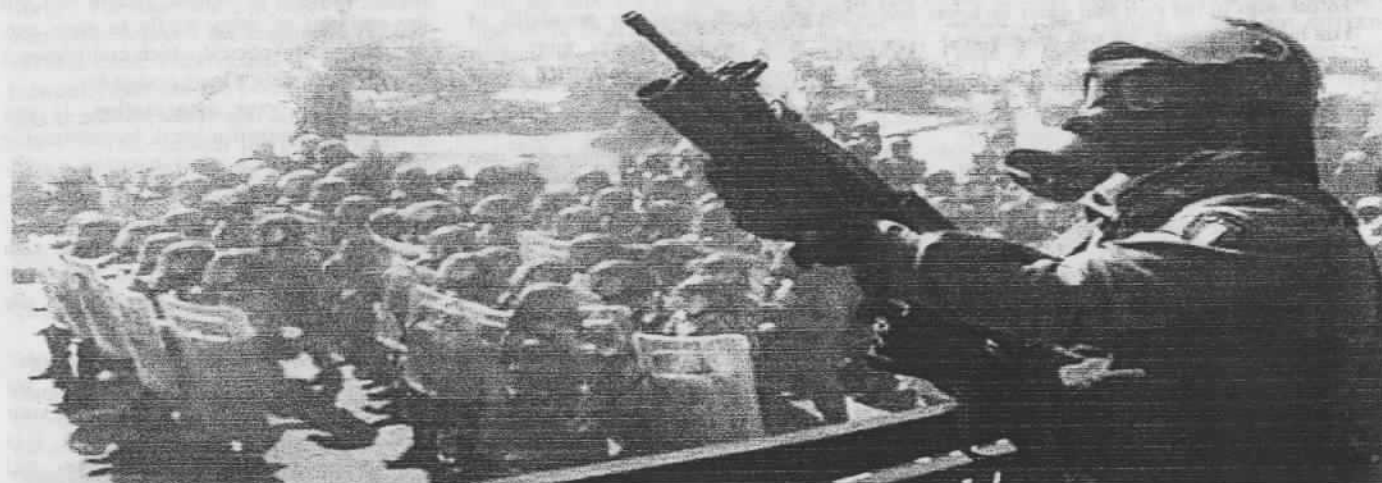


BARRICADA #8. SUMMER/SEP. 2001

BARRICADA #8. SUMMER/SEP. 2001



THE LESSONS OF GENOA



The following text has been divided into two main sections. The first discusses anarchism and anarchists and their relations with other movements, groups, organizations, press, etc. It also includes our ideas as to how we as anarchists should relate to them.

The second section relates to the internal working of the broad anarchist movement. It includes our thoughts on what needs to be changed, what needs to be improved, and what general direction we should move towards in order to continue growing as a movement.

Each section is divided into subsections for clarity and reference.

The Barricada Collective

Part 1: Anarchism in the "Anti-Globalization Movement"

Subsection 1- Movement?! What Movement?! No Such Thing!

Anti-globalization movement? Anti-capitalist movement? Revolutionary movement? All day we hear talk of this "movement," the so-called "People of Seattle" (as the corporate media terms it). Sometimes we are told that we, as revolutionary class-struggle anarchists who understand the necessity of revolutionary violence, are the "fringe elements" of this movement and that our violence "discredits"

it. Other times we are told that we are not part of this "movement" and accused of "infiltrating" it in order to cause trouble. All this is very interesting, but to us not of great importance. First of all, because as anarchists we should be used to slanders, especially from moderates and media (so get over it!), but most significantly because we feel that it is important to ask ourselves whether such a movement truly exists at all. What makes a "movement"? Is it enough to simply be opposed to globalization? And if so, do we, as revolutionary class struggle anarchists, feel comfortable within such a broad, and reformist, movement?

To us, the answer is in both cases a resounding **no**. Not only are we not reformists, but, unlike many other anarchists today, we have no interest whatsoever in reformism (this is not to say that fighting for particular reforms is in itself bad, for if it is in the framework of a revolutionary project it can be advantageous, reformism is an entirely different creature, which aims only to achieve meaningless concessions). Hence, we do not believe, again from a class-struggle anarchist perspective, that a collection of groups, organizations, parties, and whatnot, whose only common bond is the opposition to a certain facet of capitalism (not even capitalism itself!) qualifies as a "movement." Rather, it is for the most part a collection of opportunist parties and organizations (i.e. ATTAC, Ya Basta!, etc.) seeking to advance a particular reformist agenda.

Furthermore, it is to us almost irrelevant. An "anti-globalization movement" does not appeal to us. We are not interested in trying to find the (non-existent)

human face of capitalism. We are interested in nothing less than the creation of a revolutionary anti-capitalist and anti-authoritarian movement. All others, being in authoritarianism and/or reformism are bound to sooner or later betray us, either due to pure ideological incompatibility or for political gain (remember, we are volatile and we attract bad press).

The conclusion? We need to shed the weight of trying to appease the rest of the "anti-globalization movement," which leads us only to tone ourselves down and compromise our convictions, and begin focusing on creating a real revolutionary anti-capitalist movement from below. A movement that recognizes capitalism's ability to adapt in order to survive partial attacks and hence tackles it head on, satisfying itself with nothing less than the total destruction of capital and the state.

Subsection 2- With Friends Like These... Enemies in Our Midst!

As our movement (the anarchist movement) grows, so grows the fear that we inspire in our enemies. Needless to say, as they see us grow in organization and influence they are unlikely to sit idly by. Instead, they will work to isolate, discredit, and undermine us in the eyes of the people and of fellow anti-capitalists who might otherwise be tempted to join us.

Yet, the question remains as to who exactly it is that our enemies are. Are our enemies only the state and its bodies of repression? The corporations? Is it the cor-

or opposition)?

We feel that the answer to all these questions for all anarchists is an obvious and resounding yes (except in some cases with the corporate media, as some anarchists refuse to see the obvious, but that is discussed later on).

Unfortunately, many are happy to stop here. To us, this is a grave mistake. In our eyes, the events in Genoa confirmed what was already becoming clearer and clearer in the preceding months. That the so-called "anti-globalization movement" is everyday coming more and more under the control of opportunist and reformist parties and organizations that are merely riding its back in order to increase their power and influence.

These groups (ATTAC, Ya Basta, political parties, reformist unions, etc.) depend on a docile movement made up of drones who tow the party line and provide pawns for their periodic spectacles. A large part of the "anti-globalization movement," lacking a clear identity, focus, and political analysis, is blindly falling into this trap.

We, as anarchists, are not interested in watered down demonstrations and false declarations of war (Ya Basta! style). We are not interested in, and believe there to be no such thing as, a common ground for dialogue with the rulers and exploiters of the Earth. Likewise, we have no interest in their political schemes and maneuvers. We are indeed "the ungovernable force," content with nothing less than a total social revolution with the aim of creating a new society based on the principles of workers self-management, mutual aid, decentralization, direct democracy, freedom, and socialism.

As such, we are a danger to the opportunists. We are a bad influence on their drones, we ruin their parties, we expose realities which they seek to hide, and most importantly, by truly confronting the state and capital we make their phony "wars" more authentic every day.

These opportunists, who make up the "moderate and respectable" wing of anti-globalization, are aware of the danger that anarchists represent to their plans of riding this new wave of discontent to achieve their much craved "seat at the table." The fact is, once they achieve it they will be willing (and eager) to see the resistance die. Anarchists, by demonstrating truly democratic methods of organizing and real direct action, thus giving people a glimpse of what a participatory world might look and feel like, as well as showing that it is not necessary to bow one's head to anyone, be they from the establishment or "anti-globalization gurus," are a serious threat to these plans. Not only do we set a bad example for the drones, but we also

create "bad publicity" for the "movement."

The solution the reformists have come up with for this problem, aided by their good friends the media (for one of the most striking examples of this read the post-Genoa articles in Newsweek/Time about the G8 protests), is the age old tactic of divide and conquer, discredit and isolate. Good protesters here, bad protesters there; mindless thugs and hooligans on one side, concerned citizens on the other; hopeless extremists on one hand, reform minded progressives on the other; the violent ones here, the peaceful ones there, and so on and so forth.

Nowhere was this strategy made so clear and evident as in Genoa with the actions of the Genoa Social Forum (GSF).

Most anarchists arrived in Genoa expecting to find some sort of structure similar to the one set up by INPEG in Prague. INPEG, while certainly not fond of confrontational and militant tactics (as demonstrated by their shameful post S26 statement) at least had the decency and common sense to open up a space for militant tactics, both in terms of space at the convergence center for organizing and physical space on



the streets the day of action.

This was not the case in Genoa. The GSF divided the entire Eastern part of the city (the only part reasonably accessible to demonstrators) into three main blocs for the 20th. These were the Network for Global Rights bloc, composed of some moderate social centers and grassroots trade unions; the civil disobedience bloc, com-

posed of Ya Basta!, the Communist Youth and a few others; and the pacifist/White hands bloc, primarily composed of Lilliput Network people. All these blocs were within the GSF structure and had agreed to a "no stones, no sticks, no fire," clause. A space for revolutionaries and those with militant tactics was nowhere to be found. What was implied? That we should go elsewhere. When asked why this was, GSF people responded with the very shaky excuse that, since anarchists were not in the GSF, they had not been taken into account. Furthermore, when anarchists began meeting, to address this problem and begin effectively organizing, in Carlini stadium (Ya Basta! headquarters) it was immediately made clear by Ya Basta! bigwigs that they would have to go somewhere else. Finally, to top it all off, even though the GSF claimed to respect and desire to work with groups and people who chose to go outside of its structure, only a few hours after the posters for the International Offensive (i.e. Black bloc) had been put up at the convergence center, people wearing GSF staff passes could be seen taking them down. There was no co-ordination, no respect, and no solidarity. The message was clear: either you play by our rules or you leave.

The GSF had effectively identified us as an enemy and was acting accordingly. As such, in their attempts to isolate and discredit us the GSF was essentially doing the pre-mobilization work usually reserved to the state and its lapdog, the corporate press. That is, doing the necessary groundwork to prepare the political scenario for an eventual repression of anarchists and other revolutionary elements. We must make no mistake about it. The GSF, in order to heighten its credibility in the eyes of the established powers which the groups who compose it seek to join, essentially said "Here are your hooligans and criminals who think of nothing but destruction. They are not with us, and if they are found near us it is only as infiltrators." Of course, the police attacked indiscriminately regardless, driving the wedge even deeper, justifying themselves by claiming that "black bloc elements" were everywhere. The police were put in a negative light due to their indiscriminate attacks and beatings, the radicals even more so due to the slanders regarding infiltration and manipulation, the peace loving reformists of the GSF were the innocent victims of all of this, and the media took the story and ran (and unfortunately some "comrades" as well.) The GSF plan was a smashing success!

We are seen as enemies by many in the "anti-globalization movement," and this is what they are doing about it. The GSF in



the "anti-globalization movement," and this is what they are doing about it. The GSF in Genoa was not an isolated occurrence. Similar scenarios have already presented themselves (the problems encountered by the RAAB when trying to work with the Justice Action Movement for the Bush inauguration protests being one example that immediately springs to mind) and will continue to do so, with more frequency, in the future. Conflict with reformist and authoritarian opportunists (whatever brand they may be, not just of the ISO variety) is a reality we need to accept, face, and learn how to deal with. But how...

Subsection 3- Anarchists in the "Anti-Globalization Movement" Fighting Our Enemies, Asserting Anarchism

Anarchism and anarchists have, throughout history, been at odds with essentially every authoritarian and reformist political and social current, for obvious reasons which essentially all gravitate around the fact that we challenge and reject virtually everything they stand for.

The fact that the anarchist movement has enemies everywhere, and that this very much includes very large and influential sections of the "anti-globalization movement" should surprise nobody (and if it does, then please read section 2 again). The question which we must now ask ourselves is: How do we combat them and the lies that they spread about us, while at the same time asserting our positions, and our role in the movement of resistance?

It is our opinion that, in order to be effective, our strategy of resistance must be one which is multi-faceted and adaptable to the different situations and scenarios which we encounter. However, if we were to speak in general terms we would say that our strategy should be one of constant harassment, sabotage, exposure, discreditment, propaganda, action, and counter action. To discredit and expose the "leaders" and politicians for the frauds that they are, sabotage

their events by radicalizing them, and expose their rank and file to other alternatives.

This strategy may seem excessively harsh and/or extreme. However, we feel that there is abundant evidence pointing to the emergence of yet another pivotal time in the fight against capitalism and the state, much like the Russia of the revolution, the Mexico of the early 20s, the Spain of the civil war, or the France of 1968, only this time on a global level. In all four situations it could be argued that anarchist ideas and practices served to open up the social and political space for a period of significant social upheaval but (possibly because of the trusting nature of most anarchists) were defeated due to a reluctance on behalf of anarchists to recognize and effectively deal with obvious enemies until it became too late. The state, and all authoritarianisms, are dangerous animals, and even more so when wounded. We as anarchists are being presented, thanks to the current global situation, the decay of the welfare state, and the bankruptcy of authoritarian and statist alter-

cation" of society, this could well be the last. It is with the reality of this historic moment in mind that we call to adopt this seemingly extreme strategy.

This strategy must be carried out with the constant awareness that, in order to be effective, we must fight on several equally important fronts at the same time, all the while keeping in mind that the "anti-globalization movement" is only one (small) aspect of our overall struggle. These "fronts" are essentially the following...

*-Combating the constant attempts of white-washing history which seek to attribute the emergence and influence of the international movement of resistance to capital to the work of the mainstream NGOs and political parties. This absurd lie claims that the "movement" has grown *despite* the anarchists and other extremists that mar it, when in fact the opposite is true. It is the anarchist influences of direct action, participatory and horizontal organizing, and non-compromising approach that have made the "movement" strong and effective *despite* the stifling influence of the reformists.*

-Constantly denouncing through propaganda and example those who seek to manipulate the popular rejection of the current system in order to benefit their own ambitions of power. We must make clear that reformists, the vast majority of NGOs, mainstream trade unions, and other "institutionalized oppositions" are enemies, not only of anarchists, but of all those who struggle for the creation of a radically different world.

-Clearly denouncing all those who seek to reign-in and institutionalize the growing tide of resistance and vigorously work to expose as the enemies that they are all those who seek to "dialogue" and/or "find common ground with" the capitalist exploiters of this Earth (for example those planning to "debate" with the IMF). There is no debate to be had, and no possible common ground. Only total rejection and war.

-Constantly go where they go. We must ruin their parties, crash their debates, and turn



natives to capitalism, with yet another opportunity to present people with the possibility of a different world. But only if we are able to learn the lessons of the past. We have historically been slow to recognize the wolves in sheep's clothing that surround us and indecisive in crucial moments. Movements that fail to seize the opportunities that history presents them with are usually not fortunate enough to be granted rematches. Anarchism has been granted many, but given the ever increasing power of the state, of the multi-national corporations it is coming to serve, and the general "big brotherifi-

their futile attempts to appeal to power into insurrectionary events where people are encouraged to think and act autonomously, thus freeing themselves from the chains, not only of capital and the state, but also of the reformist party/NGO/union apparatus. This way we simultaneously present alternatives (be it by speaking at their events, radicalizing a demo, breaking a window, or simply distributing a flier) and avoid the political and tactical trap of isolation which they place for us in order to discredit us and leave us open to state repression.

-Making clear that, while black blocs and other forms of mass militant confrontation are important aspects of the anarchist struggle against capital and the state, they are certainly not the only ones. Anarchists, and anarchist influences, are everywhere in the resistance (as medics, in Indymedia, in non-violent civil disobedience, as cooks, and everywhere else) and anarchists accept and embrace people of all tactical outlooks (as long as they are respectful of others).

-Taking mass international mobilizations to the next step. Moving from the anti-capitalist riot to the insurrectionary situation by increasing our degree of organization in order to create scenarios that provide people with a glimpse of the radical participatory alternatives which the reformists and other authoritarians attempt to hide. This can involve, to name but a few options, creating "no-go" areas for cops and other authoritarians (be they in the shape of houses, buildings, or entire neighborhoods), encouraging self-managed active strikes in workplaces, organizing free and equal distribution of expropriated goods, organizing popular general assemblies, not only of anti-capitalists, but also in the communities (and aiming for these to eventually merge into one), and much much more. Once again, this allows us to present our vision while simultaneously creating uncomfortable situations for the reformists as well as the state.

We must make no mistake about it. Abandoning the mass mobilizations would be a grave mistake, as it would, among other things, allow the most visible aspect of the resistance to capital (on an international level at least) to be co-opted and manipulated freely by the reformists, thus denying us what are, as of now (although hopefully no longer down the road) unique opportunities to provide practical examples of anarchism in action on a large scale (not to mention provide the elites with a nice scare). However, for this to

become possible, we must increase our degree of organization for these events (see section (4) and Black Bloc Tactics Document).

-Building, developing, and coherently presenting the anarchist alternatives to the project of the parties, NGOs, and unions by continuing to develop the anarchist culture of resistance and self-management. From autonomous collectives of struggle on particular issues, to squats, to co-operatives, federations, and all other structures, initiatives, and projects in order to render the NGO/party/boss union apparatus irrelevant while at the same time effectively building the anarchist alternatives.

This is essentially nothing more than a strategy of dual power directed at the reformists who try to co-opt the resistance rather than at the state, as the goal is to build-up the alternatives and the power from below, hence eating away and rendering irrelevant the institutionalized pseudo-alternatives. Furthermore, it is a situation more favorable to us than that of organizing within and working with communities and workplaces (something which we should be doing just as vigorously as well) because we are dealing with people who have already rejected one political reality, and could just as well reject the political system all together.

This fight to give the new tide of discontent a resolutely revolutionary character can only be won by winning the hearts and minds of our fellow anti-capitalists. Anti-capitalists who the opportunist politicians see only as mere pawns and foot-soldiers in their political power games. Much like in a military situation, we must urge the troops to mutiny. To refuse to be led to slaughter (like Ya Basta! sent people in Genoa in order to be able to pose as the victims of police aggression) and to refuse to serve the interests of a few (be they the few already in power, or the few who seek to join it). We must win over our fellow anti-capitalists by demonstrating that there is an alternative to reformist power games.

It is a participatory, democratic, and revolutionary alternative in which *everyone* is an essential component, as apathy and conformity are its natural enemies. They may not recognize it as anarchism, but that is what it is. Once we have accomplished this, all the calls from the "Porto Alegre leaders" to denounce, isolate, and discredit us will fall on deaf ears (as it did with the many Ya Bastas and others who rebelled in Genoa). They will thus

have been rendered powerless and irrelevant, left to wither and die. Leaving the road wide open for the emergence of a vibrant, uncompromising, and revolutionary movement. A new movement, for a new society, both born in the shell of the old.

Subsection 4- The Corporate Media

In Genoa, as in essentially every large mobilization of the past, many have argued that anarchists and other radicals need to tone down their tactics, and even sometimes rhetoric, not out of some sort of moral issue regarding violence, but in order to make a better impression in the media. The media being, in their opinion, the "only way to win this war."

Because this issue has been touched upon so many times already, and anything we say at this point is not more than a repeat of what we have already said, this section will be kept short.

All we can say is that it is very unfortunate to see to what extent people, even anarchists, will cling to the naïve belief that the corporate media is nothing more than a tool that we can use for our ends. This line of thought wholly ignores the historical role of the mass media as conservative and pro-status quo, not to mention obvious issues about the class composition and class function of the mass media. It is owned by the ruling class, and hence cannot but serve the interests of the class from which it emanates. If we deny this, simply because some cannot resist the appeal of the spotlight, then our class analysis is worth nothing.

The corporate media is a servant of the ruling class. As such, it is bound to serve interests diametrically opposed to ours, bringing us into constant conflict. It is a creation of a world we seek to eliminate, and as such cannot be a vehicle for its destruction.

The corporate media must be treated as what it is, an enemy of social change and defender of the status quo. We must not pander to it, for we have nothing to gain from it; we must not allow them to take our picture or feel comfortable at demonstrations, for they report only slanders and their pictures are used only to vilify and incriminate. We must wage a constant battle against them, for they are enemies of revolution.

However, at the same time, we must constantly work to build alternative means of communication and information. Means that are controlled by the people and that do not respond to the interests of an elite few. We must constantly support independ-

ent revolutionary publications and projects in order to build and strengthen the information counter-culture. This is the only way to fight the media war.

Part 2- Anarchism Looking Inwards Building the Revolutionary Anarchist Movement

Subsection 5- Building a Culture of Self-Management, Behaving Productively

As more and more people become interested, and most importantly active, in the anarchist movement, our meetings, general assemblies, federations, and other structures in general grow larger and larger, and with this growth come serious questions of basic operation. Direct democracy and participatory organization are not easy methods of organization. They require discipline, compromise, respect, and above all, a desire on the part of participants to accomplish tasks more so than hearing each other talk. In short, they require a culture of self-management.

This means that people who advocate self-management should know how to behave themselves in situations where it is being exercised. Unfortunately, living in a world where opportunities to exercise direct democracy and self-management are rare, many anarchists, while advocating these things, are woefully incapable of behaving themselves productively when they encounter such situations.

The most recent example of this that comes to mind would have to be the anarchist organizing meetings in the days prior to the Genoa demonstrations. With hundreds of people present, the first priority was to establish a structure within which the discussion would be held and decisions made. When one was proposed, there were no objections, and it was thus adopted. Unfortunately, many of these same people who raised no objections when asked about the organizing structure (much less proposed alternatives) became the first to complain about it later on. Furthermore, people often felt compelled to speak only to agree with others, repeated themselves constantly, held back decision making due to ideological issues while not proposing alternatives, interrupted others, constantly tried to re-discuss subjects on which decisions had already been taken, and generally behaved in an unproductive manner. While it is true that this was most likely due to the high stress atmosphere,

it also revealed some important issues.

The first is that a culture of self-management is not something that is born from one day to another. It needs to be cultivated and practiced everyday amongst anarchists. If we are to show newcomers, and ourselves, that the organizing methods we propose are truly effective and workable, we certainly need to learn how to work within them ourselves. Self-management and direct democracy are not sciences, they are matters of respect and basic common sense. Some basics to keep in mind...

- There is no need to speak endlessly in order to make a point. If everyone makes a conscious effort to be short and concise, meetings will be more productive, issues will be clearer, and decisions will be reached faster.

- Maybe it is because some anarchists have become so accustomed to not being listened to by others that when they are surrounded by other anarchists they feel compelled to speak, regardless of whether they have something to say or not. A greater effort needs to be made in order to keep discussions on topic and limit the number of people who speak only to say "I agree." That is what the hand symbols are for and that is what indicator votes are for.

- Respect decisions that have already been made. It is often the case that a decision is taken, whether by voting or consensus, and for some reason or another, someone feels compelled to try and re-discuss it soon after. This shows an underlying disrespect for the decision making structures we establish. If we cannot respect the decisions we come to, then our structures are meaningless.

One feels almost patronizing saying these things, as they seem so obvious, but these are only three common sense examples of attitudes that we should all attempt to display in order to make our meetings more effective, yet often fail to do so. If we cannot organize amongst ourselves effectively, then we will certainly have a very difficult time convincing others that entire societies can be organized along these lines.

Subsection 6- The Next Level... Beyond the Anti-Capitalist Riot

Many of us looked to Genoa with great expectations. We truly believed that if

we played our cards right we could take this "movement" to the next level. Given the expected numbers, the strong and militant nature of the Italian culture of resistance, the history of the Genovese working class, the thousands of radicals coming from all over Europe, and the experience gained from what is now almost two years of frequent international mass actions, we saw the situation as ripe for moving beyond the simple anti-capitalist riot and mass property destruction. This is certainly not to imply that we feel these tactics should be abandoned, but if we are to grow into a true threat to the state and capital, a force capable of effectively challenging (and eventually destroying) both (rather than a historical footnote remembered solely for its periodic riots), then we need to cure ourselves of our near sightedness and begin to see these mass gatherings not only as occasions to riot and create uncomfortable situations for the state, but as environments ripe with insurrectionary potential.

It is now clear that we were wrong, and Genoa was not the time to move to the next step, as it quickly became evident that, not only was the police presence too large and the reaction too forceful, but most others, including anarchists, were not on the same page.

Most importantly however, is that it became very clear that for the moment the anarchist movement lacks the collective strategy, organizational capacity, and structures to attempt anything beyond a massive riot on a large scale. In such a situation, trying to make a move towards something more would have led to a certain, and possibly tragic, defeat.

Yet, we do need to start posing the questions of when, where, and how in a realistic fashion. Unfortunately, some people seem to be wholly uncomfortable even with the notion of a collective discussion of this matter. It seems some anarchists want to fight a class war for a total social revolution, but only to a certain extent (which seems to be quite the oxymoron). Some people want to fight, but for some reason they do not seem to be interested in fighting to win. Some say they oppose true insurrectional direct action, of a mass nature, at this time because they deem it to be premature (as do we, but not the discussion of it), however, the arguments of some other groups seem to revolve primarily around a fear of the consequences that such a total break could bring on.

Already, these kinds of attitudes are revealed in comments one hears from time to time, such as "I'm not going to DC, this shit is not worth dying for" and "I think

we should stop here, I don't want to get shot and this is pointless." The first comment was made by an anarchist (and it is hard to not put quotations around anarchist when writing this) regarding the upcoming Washington DC mobilizations after learning of the shooting of Carlo Giuliani in Genoa, and the second was made by somebody in the black bloc at the Bush inauguration during the discussions regarding whether to storm the last, and at the time thin, line of riot police keeping the bloc from breaking into the parade route.

The question that immediately comes to mind is, how can anybody say this?! The fight to abolish the organizations that cause the death of so many every day is not worth risking, very minimally one might add, ones life? Is the war to end capitalism, statism, and authoritarianism not worth dying for?! Would not thousands pouring into the parade route of the presidential inauguration and blocking it not have sent an unmistakable message to the world that, even in the belly of the beast, the resistance is strong?!

Let nobody confuse the issues here. This is not a question of "macho anar-

chism" or wanting to be martyrs. Nobody is arguing that we should try to get ourselves killed or somehow celebrate if it occurs, and in regards to the second comment above, if one doubted the utility of breaking into the parade route, then that is understandable. However, what is not understandable is allowing our decisions to be made solely on the basis of our personal fear (as important as it may be to respect the progression of the individual as a revolutionary), which is the sole basis upon which comments such as the above seem to be grounded. This reveals a serious weakness in anarchism as a movement.

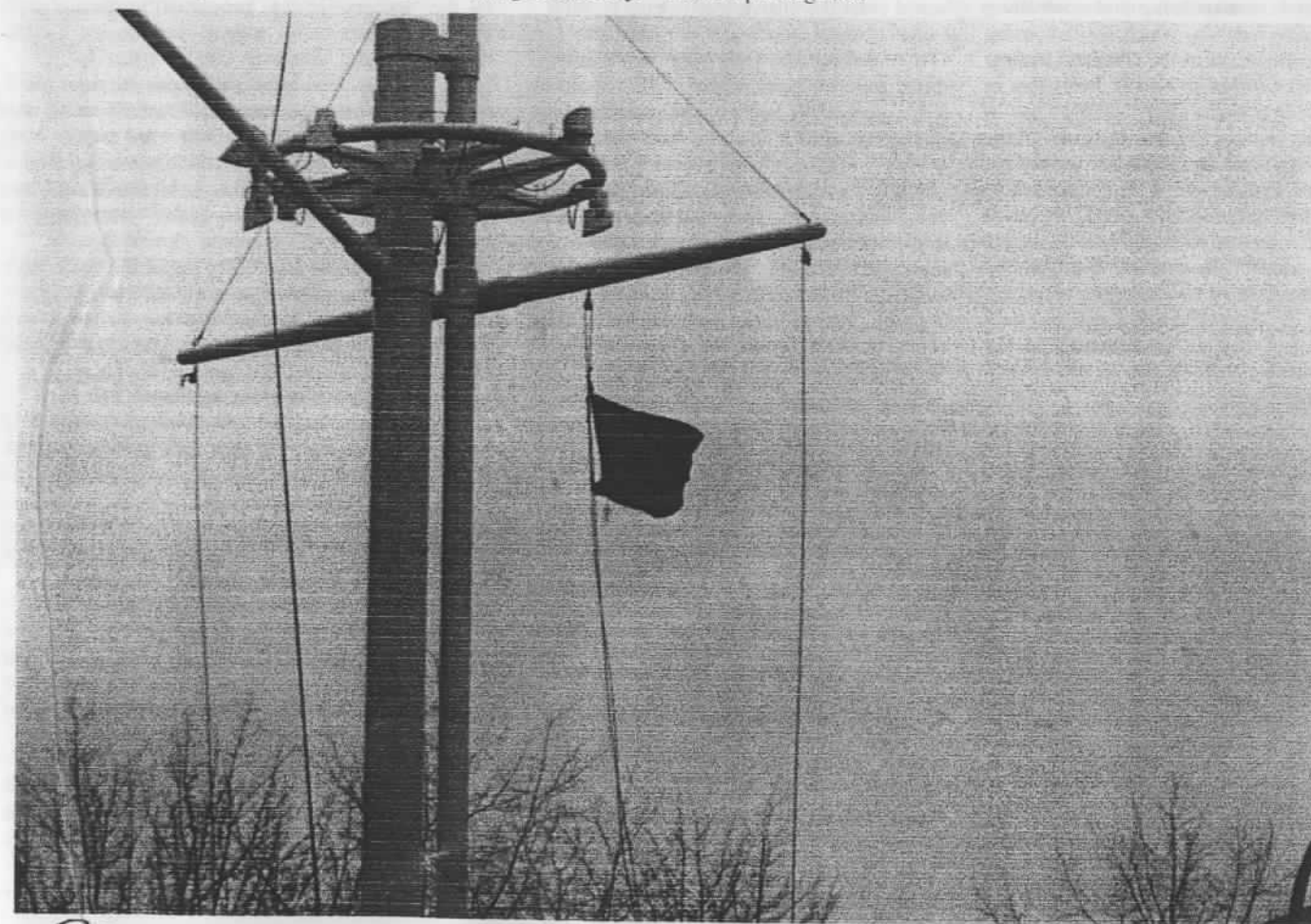
If we are speaking seriously of revolution, then we need to take a serious look at history and see what the consequences are, not only if we fail, but even if we are triumphant. Revolutions means blood, death, and suffering. If we are not willing to accept this, then we should not be calling for them.

Many anarchists now are at a dangerous middle ground, where they fight and resist, yet keep a safety net to fall back on and become law abiding citizens again if "shit gets too crazy." This is a privilege that

most on this Earth do not benefit from, and if we are truly to become allies with those fighting around the world, then we need to be serious about our struggle. Furthermore, how can we expect oppressed communities to trust us and work with us if we do not make it clear that we will not repeat the mistakes of the past?! Namely the early 70s when, as repression became intolerable, all but a handful of white radicals dropped out, leaving the oppressed communities in struggle, and the white radicals that remained, open to state repression, resulting in the death and imprisonment of so many.

It is hard to write this and not feel as if one is sounding patronizing, macho, and vanguardist. But the fact is, these are meant to be constructive criticisms based on first hand experience and authentic concerns. They are aimed at making our movement more authentic, solid, and dependable. You are free to interpret them however you wish.

Nicolas
Beggar
AH
Barricada Collective



THE WHITEWASHING OF HISTORY WILL NOT PASS

The following is a translation of a text posted in French to A-Infos. While it seems to lose itself for a little too long on particular examples of people's stupidity, we feel it makes very good points about the lies being spread about the black bloc and what strategic role they will come to play from now on.

Given that many in North America seem to be accepting these lies and repeating them, it seems important to print it. It was received unsigned.

The Barricada Collective



The recent events in Genoa have plunged into crisis the absurd and blind faith of the "middle classes" in democracy. They have also served to put into question the practices of the "left of the left" ("The People of Porto Alegre," the movement fraction of social-democracy, the European ministry in charge of manipulating and controlling "social movements"), which involve using the authentic revolt of the "masses" against the capitalist system to benefit their cause in the inter-imperialist war pitting socio-Europeans versus libero-Americans. The gratuitous affirmations of police infiltration of the black blocs are in fact attempts to hide the true questions that need to be posed in the aftermath of Genoa. This is, an attempt to transfer the question and dilemma from that of a civilized management of the capitalist system (1) versus a radical transformation of society (revolution), to the groundless and fruitless debate of violence versus non-violence. Luca Casarini (spokesperson from the White Overalls) has already made clear the position of his wing of the "movement" in his declaration of July 22nd when he said, "We must fight on two fronts, against police repression and also against the violent elements." Evidently, in his opinion it is a matter of combating "democratically" repression, while challenging the "violent fraction" with bats and brass knuckles, as they did on the streets of Genoa, to name but one example.

It is the White Overalls and the GSF who have decided to split the movement at this important juncture by employing the old Stalinist tactic of calumny, affirming with virtually no proof that the black bloc was manipulated by the Italian secret services. This lie serves a triple function:

tion:

- To disqualify as "extremely dangerous" and "subject to all sorts of manipulations" (always and everywhere) all those who present the option, in a radical and practical manner, of a total overhaul of the existing world order (be this violently or not).

- To re-enforce the belief that self-managed direct action is unattainable. This should be left to specialists and cops (but certainly not common people).

- To pull the ensemble of political practices, and hence theories, under the umbrella of the democratic game: Political calculations and maneuvers, coupled with delegation of power to leaders. As early as the evening of the 20th the "leaders of the movement" (Casarini of the White Overalls and Agnoletto of the GSF) began declaring that they had irrefutable evidence of the collusion between black bloc and police. They "revealed" a picture and a video.

The picture: Several aggressive looking individuals in civilian clothing guarding the entrance to a carabinieri station. One is armed with a baton, another is helmeted (with a motorcycle helmet), and two of them have their faces covered with scarves. They were in fact carabinieri in civilian clothing sent outside to protect the station from a passing demonstration. Furthermore, the scarves in question are standard issue carabinieri scarves, quite easily distinguishable.

The video: In a relatively calm square a fairly large man (blue jeans, black shirt, and white rag over his face) holding the handle

part of a hammer stands talking to a cop in riot gear. He is obviously a cop in civilian clothing. Two youths on a scooter stop and speak to them briefly before continuing on their way. That's all! (2)

Calls to testify were launched by all the "leaders" of the "people of Seattle": Proof is desperately sought, testimonies, complaints, and whatever else in order to prove the black bloc/police collusion. All the newspapers announce these calls, television stations eagerly echo, and websites are even created for this end. This media hammering and matter-of-fact discourse achieves its objective. The manipulation of the "violent elements" becomes common knowledge, almost a "historical fact." The larger the lie, the more it is presented as irrefutable proof despite the lack of actual evidence. It has thus become impossible to speak with anybody without hearing the same thing. "It is proven, the black blocs were infiltrated."

Proven by who? With what? Nobody seems to know, and each feels therefore free to tell his/her anecdotes. Some quite incredible, but none to be taken seriously by anyone with a minimally clear head. "I clearly saw that the first people who attacked the police at Kennedy Square were not masked, it is obviously proof that they were cops." One can only assume that, had they been masked, it would likewise have constituted a proof. If one looks at the "testimonies" on the internet, it curiously becomes clear that, although they are all first-person accounts, as soon as the subject becomes the "violent ones" they immediately become indirect ("I was told that...", "people told me that they saw...", "a reliable source said..." etc.) as well as generously vague

(there is seldom reference to time or place of anything). Many others, due to simple ignorance, do nothing more than describe the classic activity of plainclothes cops at demonstrations: Infiltrate in order to gather information, pick people out, and eventually proceed to arrests. For example, "I saw plainclothes police walk past riot police" or "I saw plainclothes cops carrying batons," and the like. Sometimes, it is a mixture of the two, such as "I was told that somebody saw plainclothes police loading batons into a police van."

Above all, we find paranoid deliriums:

- One person saw (gasp!) "vandals in black talking to a man dressed in light colored clothing."

- Several testimonies speak of people dressed in black who were seen hiding to change clothes before loosing themselves in the crowd. No comment.

- Many are shocked that the "violent elements armed to the teeth" were able to cross the border with "all their materials..." (Exactly, all those rocks brought from England and those batons cut from wood in the Black Forest!)

- Even more numerous are those who, having interiorized their political impotence to such a great extent, believe it to be proof that "the violent ones were able to get away" while the pacifists (who refused to flee when the police charged) were beaten.

- One sharp character recognized "Nazi skin-heads" by their "shaved heads." (Never mind that there was an abundance of Redskins in the Genoa clashes)

We are presented with a few quite troubling testimonies, but all of the rather delirious variety and very poorly concocted (in short, blatant lies). When the comments are truly ludicrous, the "witness" always uses the indirect or third person ("I was told that..."):

- "Some Belgian friends told me that they saw a black bloc with transmitters and megaphones in their helmets, which they used to move in a coordinated fashion after receiving orders through the transmitters."

- "I exchanged some words with someone from Bici-G8 [...], he said he saw some police officers, in uniform, destroying telephone cabins..."

- "Direct witnesses have said that they saw

black blocs talking placidly with the police."

Other testimonies reek of truth, but not precisely of intelligence:

- "In order to leave Genoa, the trains were, voluntarily, disorganized in order to heighten the tension [...] It was obstructionism orchestrated by the conductors, they also in line with the strategy of terror."

- [In the pacifist march, on the outskirts of the red zone] "A young man begins insulting the police in German [...] I look him in the eyes and ask why he does it. No answer. He continues unperturbed. [...] He takes distance [...] I follow him, tap him on the shoulder and ask his name. He does not answer. [...] and tells me not to touch him. He leaves. Any interaction is impossible, it is clear that he is reciting a role. (...the next day) B. says to me "look, it is black bloc people descending from that van." [...] Among them is the guy that I saw the day before, and it becomes clear: He is not a demonstrator."

What is most stunning is that this old Stalinist trick works so effectively, even in "our" ranks. Numerous comrades who participated in the Genoa black blocs have essentially said, "There is no smoke without fire, and if so many people affirm it, then it must be true. In any case, a handful of provocateurs are insignificant considering that thousands of people participated." Leaving aside any considerations regarding the importance of "truth" in all of this, this point of view is dangerous, as it ignores the strategic purpose that this calumny serves.

This lie will play a crucial role in the debates following the "Genoa rupture."

It will serve to disqualify and discredit off hand any radical stance. Furthermore, this lie is equally, and paradoxically, important to the ever increasing offensive of repression on behalf of the state. Paradoxically because, following this bizarre logic, if the black blocs are indeed in line with the police, then there is no reason to show them any solidarity whatsoever. Yet the contradiction is evident: If the black blocs were truly in line with the police, they would not be the targets of repression. Already, this logic has served to put in place instruments of denunciation and snitching, such as internet sites like the one belonging to Peacelink: "We are gathering testimonies, evidence, and formal complaints aiming not only to expose excesses on behalf of the forces of order, but also violent extremists. If we can aide in the jailing of those who have devastated entire streets of Genoa we would be very happy: The violent ones are our enemies."

A lot of these comments may be seen as merely amusing (and indeed, quite a few of them are), but they are worrisome because they are serving to create a pretext, however false, for the discrediting of radical alternatives. We must be careful not to fall into their traps. It is these calumnies that have historically paved the way for the Stalinist firing squads.

Notes:

(1) For a more complete documentation, see the discussions at web.tiscali.net/it/anticitoyennisme

(2) Le Monde, 24th of July 2001.

(3) All the following citations are from searching testimonies on italy.indymedia.org. None have been left out.



ARTER GENOA: WHY WE NEED TO STAY IN THE STREETS!

Since Genoa, there has been lots of healthy debate about where the movement needs to go. The large scale protests are becoming more dangerous and difficult. The summits are moving to inaccessible locations. The IMF and the World Bank and the G8 and the WTO continue to do their business. Are we being effective enough to justify the risks we're taking? Should we be focusing more on local work, building our day-to-day networking and organizing? I was in Genoa. Because of what I experienced there, including the moments of real terror and horror, I am more convinced than ever that we need to stay in the streets. We need to continue mounting large actions, contesting summits, working on the global scale.

Our large scale actions have been extraordinarily effective. I've heard despairing counsels that the protests have not affected the debates in the G8 or the WTO or the IM/World Bank. In fact they have, they have significantly changed the agendas and the propaganda issuing forth. In any case, the actual policies of these institutions will be the last thing to change. But for most of us on the streets, changing the debate within these institutions is not our purpose. Our purpose is to undercut their legitimacy, to point a spotlight at their programs and policies, and to raise the social costs of their existence until they become insupportable. Contesting the summits has delegitimized these institutions in a way no local organizing possibly can. The big summit meetings are elaborate rituals, ostentatious shows of power that reinforce the entitlement and authority of the bodies they represent. When those bodies are forced to meet behind walls, to fight a pitched battle over every conference, to retreat to isolated locations, the ritual is interrupted and their legitimacy is undercut. The agreements that were being negotiated in secret are brought out into the spotlight of public scrutiny. The lie that globalization means democracy is exposed; and the mask of benevolence is ripped off. Local organizing simply can't do this as effectively as the big demonstrations.

Local organizing is vital, and there are other things it does do: outreach, education, movement building, the creation of viable alternatives, the amelioration of some of the immediate effects of global policy. We can't and won't abandon the local, and in fact never have: many of us work



on both scales. No one can go to every summit: we all need to root ourselves in work in our own communities. But many of us have come to the larger, global actions because we understand that the trade agreements and institutions we contest are designed to undo all of our local work and override the decisions and aspirations of local communities. We can make it a conscious goal of every large scale action to strengthen local networks and support local organizing. Aside from Washington DC, Brussels, or Geneva, which have no choice, no city is ever going to host one of these international meetings twice. Even now, we hear rumors that Washington is considering relocating or limiting the upcoming IMF/World Bank meeting. But if we find ways to organize mass actions that leave resources and functioning coalitions behind, then each grand action can strengthen and support the local work that continues on a daily basis.

Summits won't remain the nice, juicy, targets that they are for long. Over the last two years, we've reaped an agenda of meetings that were set and contracted for before Seattle. Now that they are locating the meetings in ever more obscure and isolated venues, we need a strategy that can allow us to continue building momentum.

As an example, some of us have been talking about linked, large-scale regional actions targeting stock exchanges and financial institutions when the WTO meets in Qatar in

November. The message we'll be sending is: "If you move the summits beyond our reach, and continue the policies of power consolidation and wealth concentration, then social unrest will spread beyond these specific institutions to challenge the whole structure of global corporate capitalism itself." Marches, teach-ins, countersummits, programs of positive alternatives alone can't pose this level of threat to the power structure, but combined with direct action on the scale we've now reached, they can. Of course, the more successful we are, the meaner they get. But when they use force against us, we still win, even though the victory comes at a high cost. Systems of power maintain themselves through our fear of the force they can command, but force is costly. They cannot sustain themselves if they have to actually use force in order to accomplish every normal function.

Genoa was a victory won at a terrible price. I hope never to undergo another night like I spent when they raided the IMC and the Diaz school, knowing that atrocities were being done just across the way and not being able to stop them. I ache and grieve and rage over the price. I would do almost anything to assure that no one, especially no young person, ever suffers such brutality again.

Almost anything. Anything except backing away from the struggle. Because

A LIBERAL RESPONSE OR A REVOLUTIONARY RESPONSE

Mass protests over the last year and a half have placed (1st world) anti-global-corporate struggles into the political limelight. Unfortunately this new-found public interest has been largely occupied by organizations and individuals who have an abundance of resources and politics which have taken us to where we are now; not far enough.

Along with the growing activist presence has been a growing state response - protests in Seattle, DC, Prague, Quebec, and most recently Genoa have each seen new levels of police violence, state repression and censorship. Each new level of state response calls into question not only the staying power of this movement but its purpose; clearly protest-only movements are not worth dying for, or even being beaten for, but as it stands "protest-only" is how this movement is being defined.

We have been continuously dissatisfied with the organized responses to state repression. We believe that the escalating reactions of the state offer this movement a challenge and an opportunity; and that the choice activists make will determine either victory or defeat. We are submitting the following points as one basis for debate within the movement, to offer a choice for a new direction, and possibly to serve as a rallying point for a section of the movement that has largely been without a voice. If the choice is between a revolutionary response and a liberal one, we think that a revolutionary response will include the points listed below.

1. We need to clearly define ourselves as an anti-capitalist force - not one interested in reforming the institutions we are protesting.

2. Anti-capitalism is a revolutionary stance; we are revolutionaries.

3. We must recognize that the state will defend itself with force. This means harassment, beatings, shootings and death. We cannot afford to respond to state violence with shock or moralistic calls for apology; death is part of any serious liberation struggle. We must also acknowledge that any violence leveled against us is nothing compared to the daily violence leveled by the state against oppressed communities nationally and internationally. Carlo Giuliani may have died for the cause, but so have hundreds of victims of police violence within the US last year, whose names we don't even

know.

4. We are capable of forcing police into self-defense situations. We weaken ourselves when we pose as victims in an attempt to gain some kind of moral higher ground.

5. We need to publicly claim our place within the global revolutionary struggle and to claim solidarity with national and international movements from Cincinnati to Ecuador to Chiapas, and from Palestine to Columbia. More than claiming our place, we need to act in real solidarity with these struggles.

6. We refute any statement which claims that any White or European protestor is this movement's 1st, 2nd, 3rd, etc. martyr. As revolutionaries within the framework of global revolutionary struggle, we hailed our first martyrs long ago.

7. We must publicly acknowledge that protest alone is not enough to create revolutionary change in the US or in any modern state.

8. We need to build a grass roots legitimacy for this movement - this means doing the "on the ground" daily organizing work which will build the current protests into a real mass movement.

9. In addition to building a mass base we need to build up revolutionary organizations so that the next time we are presented with a challenge we can more adequately respond.

People in general agreement with these points should be pushing for their inclusion in any relevant movement literature or propaganda leading up to the events in DC. We hope that these can serve as a basis for debate about the direction for the movement; within and without organizations they are involved with, and within and without the movement. Please distribute this pamphlet as widely as possible.

We will be in the streets in DC September 26 to October 4.

It Takes a Plan... Left-Over Collective

that level of violence and brutality is being enacted, daily, all over the world. It's the shooting of four students in New Guinea, the closing of a school in Senegal, the work quota in a maquiladora on the Mexican border, the clearcutting of a forest in Oregon, the price of privatized water in Cochabamba. It's the violence being perpetrated on the bodies of youth, especially youth of color, in prisons all over the United States, and the brutality and murder going on in Colombia, Palestine, Venezuela. And it's the utter disregard for the integrity of the ecosystems that sustain us all.

I don't see the choice as being between the danger of a large action and safety. I no longer see any place of safety. Or rather, I see that in the long run our safest course is to act strongly now. The choice is about when and how we contest the powers that are attempting to close all political space for true dissent.

Genoa made clear that they will fight ruthlessly to defend the consolidation of their power, but we still have a broad space in which to organize and mount large actions. We need to defend that space by using it, filling and broadening it. Either we continue to fight them together now when we can mount large-scale, effective actions, or we fight them later in small, isolated groups, or alone when they break down the doors of our homes in the middle of the night. Either we wage this struggle when there are still living forests, running rivers, and resilience left in the life support systems of the planet, or we fight when the damage is even deeper and the hope of healing slim.

We have many choices about how to wage the struggle. We can be more strategic, more creative, more skillful in what we do. We can learn to better prepare people for what they might face, and to better support people afterwards. We have deep questions to consider about violence and nonviolence, about our tactics and our long range vision, which I hope to address in a later posting.

But those choices remain only so long as we keep open the space in which to make them. We need to grow, not shrink. We need to explore and claim new political territory. We need the actions of this autumn to be bigger, wilder, more creatively outrageous and inspiring than ever, from the IMF/World Bank actions in Washington DC at the end of September to the many local and regional actions in November when the WTO meets in Qatar. We need to stay in the streets.

Starhawk

BUILDING THE REVOLUTIONARY ANARCHIST MOVEMENT

The following essay was originally written for publication in a book with a section on the black bloc. It was certainly not intended for use in *Barricada*, as it deals with aspects of the black bloc that we would hope most of our readers already be familiar with.

Unfortunately, for quite a while now we have been hearing people in North America arguing that it is time to abandon the black bloc and move on. That it is alienating to those who are not "middle class white kids" (to see just how wrong that is, please see our news section), that it is not effective for creating links and accomplishing goals, that it has reached its peak and can only go downhill from here, and much more.

To us this is nonsense, as we believe North American black blocs to still be in their infancy. There is much to learn and many ways to grow. We believe that those who dismiss the utility of black blocs today do so due to a lack of a clear understanding of the purposes they serve. For this reason, and because we believe black blocs to be an important tool for building the revolutionary anarchist movement, we are running this essay as a black bloc back to basics. The text that follows (starting on page 26), can be viewed as the black bloc's next level.

The Barricada Collective

BLACK BLOC: ORIGINS, STRUCTURE, AND PURPOSES

Over the years the term "black bloc" has been associated (usually thanks to the stellar reporting of the mainstream media) with anything from indiscriminate hooliganism to highly organized "gangs" that infiltrate peaceful protests with the sole intention of attacking police, as well as with every other slander in between. As a result of this widespread misinformation it seems almost impossible to begin to discuss what exactly black blocs are, what they do, who they are composed of, how they function, and most importantly, why it is that they exist and are likely to continue existing for quite some time, without first making clear what they are certainly not.

Black blocs are not a formal organization. One cannot be a "member of the black bloc". Likewise, black blocs did not originate in Seattle or Washington DC (as is often reported in the press) and have indeed existed since much before the "Battle of Seattle." Black blocs do not have leaders (not Colin Clyde, not Jaggi Singh) and we are not all influenced by the primitivist ideas of John Zerzan. Indeed, it is only a small fraction of black bloc participants that identify with primitivism. Above all, it is probably most important to note that, while people who participate in black blocs believe that it is legitimate to use revolutionary violence and tactics deemed "illegal" in order to resist and confront capitalism and the state (whether it be by fighting police, damaging property, or whatever other means), this does not necessarily mean that a black bloc is always violent, or that it exists for those sole purposes.

Black Blocs originated in the 80s in Germany, as a tactic emanating from the Autonomie and Anti-Fascist movement.

The German Autonomie movement was (and still is) a movement that had as its principle focuses of struggle in those conflicts which could simultaneously both undermine the state and build a class conscious fighting culture, hence building up

the working class resistance movement by creating a culture of resistance centered on autonomous struggles, free from the influence of opportunist political parties or corrupt trade unions. This was aimed at reaching an eventual crossroads of autonomous and revolutionary struggles and achieve an eventual total rupture with capitalism and the state. To build the new society in the shell of the old....

As a result of this it entered into frequent conflict with the state (defending squats, fighting fascists, blocking nuclear transports, etc.) hence having to deal with a relatively high degree of violence and repression. It was for these reasons that they began to wear masks in order to hide their identities, as well as helmets and body armor for protection, as well as batons and other such street fighting weapons for offensive actions (such as attempting to break police lines or fighting fascists). Furthermore, in order to make their section of the demonstration tighter and more difficult to disperse (as well as for propaganda purposes) they lined the front and side with banners and poles. Inside the "bloc" it was expected that everyone be part of a line, composed only of people who knew and trusted each other, and that lines of people who were acquainted with each other be together forming a "cluster," thus providing for greater tactical fluidity and confidence, as well as making police infiltration more difficult. This is the basic organization of what the German police began to term as the "black bloc," a term that the German Autonomes and Anti-Fascists originally rejected.

Since then, black blocs have spread throughout Europe and across the ocean to North America. Black bloc tactics are still most commonly seen in countries with strong radical autonomous fighting cultures, such as Italy, Denmark, Sweden, Greece, and of course, Germany (although it is now illegal in Germany to wear a mask at a demonstration), among others, but they have begun to be adopted to varying degrees all across Europe and North America.

Although black blocs originally emerged to serve a very precise function, that of militant attack or defense in mass conflict situations, they have now come to serve a broader purpose for revolutionary anti-authoritarians, particularly anarchists (who now make up the majority of people participating in black blocs). The reasons for "masking up" at a demonstration, aside from defending oneself against police identification and possible repression, are many.

It is often the case that anarchists are only seen as anarchists by others when engaging in illegal actions or masked up in a black bloc. The fact is that this is not true, as anarchists engage in a variety of struggles and embrace many different tactics. At mobilizations, while anarchists are certainly present in the black bloc, they are also medics, cooks, non-violent civil disobedience participants, and everything else. However, this aspect is often ignored. As a result, anarchists have on occasion masked up, not in order to engage in militant actions, but in order to assert their presence at a mobilization and not allow themselves to be counted merely as more foot soldiers for one political party or another, as well as to dispel misconceptions about anarchism. Two prominent examples of this would be the anarchist black bloc at the Philadelphia Millions for Mumia march in April of 1999, which numbered in the thousands and was completely peaceful, and the "Trash Bloc" at the border action in Buffalo during the FTAA summit which, after claims by the media and police that the anarchists would "trash the city" went around the city picking up trash in impoverished areas.

The black bloc is also used as a means of expressing solidarity, both practically and symbolically. Practically, we express solidarity, for example, by refusing to allow the forces of the state to take any of us without a fight. Hence, black blocs attempt to perform "de-arrests." This literally means taking people who are being arrested

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away from the hands of the police. Of course, being accustomed to the usually timid and guilt ridden protest culture that glorifies arrest, police officers are often quite shocked by this, making successful de-arrests easier. In addition, black blocs often come to the aid of non-violent protestors who are coming under attack from police. This was the case at the World Bank mobilization in Washington on April 16th, 2000 where the bloc of approximately 1000 people was dedicated primarily to supporting those engaged in non-violent actions by drawing police away from them.

The symbolic solidarity of black blocs lies in that by all dressing alike and marching together, we are all at equal risk of police repression, regardless of who does what. Thus, the more timid people in the larger bloc play a part in the action by providing a body of cover for those engaging in direct action to retreat into. Thus, one expresses solidarity by implying that it does not matter who exactly it was that broke the window or attacked the police line, "it might as well have been me; it was all of us."

Furthermore, there is an unfortunate tendency in the media to trivialize resistance movements which threaten the establishment. This is usually done by focusing more on the people who are in the movement, than the message itself. Thus, by looking alike and concealing our identities, we are saying that who we are is not important. Despite the media's insistence that we are all angst ridden teenagers, we come from all walks of life. We could be high school students, university students, unemployed, squatters, part time workers, nurses, doctors, construction workers, white, black, Asian, young, old and everything in between. What is important is not so much

who we are, but what it is that we have to say.

Yet another use of black blocs, especially in North America, is to empower people by showing them that the roads that the state gives us to "protest" are not the only ones available and that we have power much stronger than the false voice of the ballot. This is the power of the people, the power of our creativity, and the power of direct action. By not being under the control of any party or reformist organization we become truly autonomous and free to develop our struggles and our visions for a new world. We open the doors to glimpse what a different world, a participatory and egalitarian world based on the principles of direct democracy, self-management, decentralization, and mutual aid might look like, and just how powerful that vision is. By conducting and organizing ourselves, and our black blocs, in such a manner, we show people what that world might look and feel like, and that is a powerful sight.

Finally, and possibly most importantly, black blocs serve to add a militant tone to otherwise tame and compromising situations. They serve to radicalize fellow demonstrators as well as to add a revolutionary and insurrectionary dimension to what might otherwise be just another demonstration to forget. The fact is that we are revolutionaries, not hard edged reformists as some seem to think. We are interested in nothing less than the total destruction of capitalism and the state and the creation of a classless, stateless society to replace it. To us the only relevant goal of our movement and our demonstrations should be to advance the struggle against capitalism and the state, to build a revolutionary movement that satisfies itself with nothing less, and to eventually effect relevant social change in the benefit of the oppressed of this world, not by covering up the wounds of capitalism with reforms, but by completely

changing the dynamics and structure of our world. Not as a vanguard or as leaders, but as fellow fighters in one common struggle. Because of all this, we aim to see every demonstration filled with potentially insurrectionary scenarios. Creating free zones where police cannot enter, distributing for free the necessities of life, allowing people to take freely the commodities that otherwise serve to enslave, urging workers to strike actively and take back their workplaces from their exploiters, forming open general assemblies to serve as the decision making entities in communities, attacking the temples and physical representations of capitalism and the state, and much, much more.

Evidently, when coming from this perspective, conflict with the repressive arms of the state is inevitable, and to us it is essential, in order to be more effective in our struggle, to be well organized and well prepared for it. The black bloc, as a tactic, while far from perfect and only one tool in an arsenal that includes everyday work in communities and workplaces, propaganda through books, newspapers, and magazines, and much more, is certainly an important tool in this respect. It is the street fighting element of a movement that is, by definition and necessity, combative.

As our movement grows and our struggle intensifies, so does the degree of repression from the state and its abilities to counter the black bloc tactic. Hence, it is becoming time for us to continue working to make it ever more effective. As new people start participating, we need to make it clear to them that a black bloc is not a free for all and that there is an important degree of discipline, commitment, and responsibility necessary for participation in a black bloc. Yet, even more importantly, we need to become effective not only as a force on the streets, but as one part of a culture of resistance that, while implicated in all the relevant social struggles of our time, maintains its independence by never forgetting that the state has an astounding ability to adapt to and absorb partial attacks, thus remaining fundamentally unchallenged by reformism. It is up to us to create an anti-authoritarian movement of uncompromising resistance that is not subject to the ups and downs of the particular issues of the day, but instead fights on until total victory. Once we have created this movement and this culture, it will truly be time to begin creating "the new world in the shell of the old."

Nicolas
Barricada Collective



A Communiqué On Tactics And Organization To The Black Bloc From Within.



*July 2001, From Somewhere in The Midwest

*This Document is directly applicable to the particularities of the Anarchist movement in North America. Any applications of the below analysis and tactical proposals to the particularities of the struggle in different regions, should entail a general modification of content in order to maintain an obvious and sufficient relevance.

Introductory Notes For The Second Amended Addition

The edition which you are currently holding, is the product of extensive conversations between folk from within the ARA and G-MAC. Through these conversations, consensus was reached regarding certain principles of revolutionary organization. Key changes were made to the sections proposing the use of reserves, affinity groups, the tactical facilitation core, as well as minor changes throughout the document. We feel these changes make for a stronger proposal. We, of course, welcome further discussion and amendments where necessary.

Introductory Notes

The following document is presented with the intention of furthering the basic effectiveness of our movement by advocating various tactical practices that we hope will be adopted by the Black Bloc as a whole. The inspiration for this work comes from our complete love for the creative ability/potential of humankind and our uncompromising dedication to social revolution. Portions of this work tend to take on a militaristic tone. This tone should not be misconstrued as a back door justification for arbitrary hierarchical models of organizing. Rather, the reality of our militant struggle necessitates the language used in order to most accurately depict our objective circumstances and the methods we must employ in order to come closer to victory. Here it should be pointed out that under no circumstances do we advocate any organizational model that in essence is not compatible with those utilized democratically by Anarchists and revolutionary workers as practiced during the Paris Commune (1871) and the Spanish Civil War (1936-9). In order to put this work together, we reflected on our own collective experiences as well as looked to history to learn what works within an Anarchistic framework and what does not.

It is our intention here to present an accurate, yet brief, analysis of the present state of the movement generally, as well as the steps we (the Black Bloc) must take in order to fur-

ther the cause. Also, the below proposals are directly intended for Black Bloc incorporation only. Fore, any across the board Anarchist adaptation of the more militant proposals (such as found in the section Preparations For Increased State Repression) would lead to the weakening of the all important above ground community organizing efforts. We view these efforts as primary to the general cause in that it is through them that the wider populace is brought over consciously to the Anarchist Left. Our struggle must be conducted at all levels.

Lastly, we encourage you to read this work and discuss it within your collective and/or with other folk within the Black Bloc Anarchist community. It is our hope that such collectives and interested people connected with the Black Bloc will sign their names (not necessarily their given names) to this and implement the tactical proposals suggested below. In the likely case that the below document is partially unacceptable to our community of struggle, it is our hope that such points of contention be discussed, debated and amended as necessary in order to reach Black Bloc consensus. We here ask that the various Anarchist newspapers and periodicals open up their letter sections for this purpose.

-Anti-Racist Action
-The Green Mountain Anarchist Collective

Our Movement Grows

During the course of the past year and a half (since the Battle of Seattle) we have been witnessing/participating in a maturity of the larger social protest movement as well as the smaller (yet growing) revolutionary Anarchist movement.

This is a result of eight basic reasons:

1. The experiential emptiness of intensified neo-Capitalist commodification of pseudo-reality and its necessary results of mass alienation, anxiety and Boredom.
2. The continuing failure of the present system to alleviate material deprivation (poverty) amongst certain sectors of working class and poor.
3. Overt attempts by leading neo-Capitalist powers to homogenize world economy/culture through elitist centralized organizations such as the World Bank, International Monetary Fund and World Trade Organization has triggered a populist backlash and motivated the usually dormant trade unions.
4. The reconciliation of previously splintered counter-culture (urban "punk", rural "hippy", etc.) has allowed for a wider base from which shifts in popular social consciousness are disseminating.
5. Increased communications abilities through out the populous has resulted in organizational/mobilization advances amongst the social protest and revolutionary Anarchist movements.
6. Experience gained by organizations through out the last decade has vastly increased the practical ability of the movement as a whole.
7. The generational maturity of the children of the 60s and 70s has now come to full fruition. This is a fact that should not be overlooked as we intend to build on and further destroy where our mothers and fathers left off.
8. Police repression as experienced through out the United States and Canada during the course of this last year and a half has had

the result of radicalizing 10,000s of previously Liberal demonstrators from one coast to the other and back.

Anarchism and The Broader Movement

While the broader movement has affected some important practical and consciousness building victories, it is still too malleable and indecisive to put an uncritical trust in its visual organizations (as encapsulated in the Direct Action Network).

As revolutionary Anarchists we must continue to support and encourage its participatory and directly democratic currents while steering it away from its unconscious tendencies towards spectacular abstraction and Liberal capitulation. We must continue to do this through the dissemination of revolutionary Anarchist theory as well as by DIRECT example, both of the kind on the streets, in community organizing efforts and in regards to our lifestyles. This must continue to be a priority both at demonstrations as well as within the

such as the demise of the Love and Rage organization. The objective historical situation, as well as our newfound practical abilities, has resulted in us moving two steps forward for every step back. However, before we become full of conceit, let it be said that we have many, many dangerous steps to traverse before we reach the end of this epic.

Our Local Communities

It is in our specific communities that we (Black Bloc and Anarchists generally) are able to push the revolutionary Anarchist movement forward through diligent and relevant community organizing through out the ranks of the disenfranchised.

Here we must continue to do this by forming workers co-operatives, community centers, newspapers, the creation of Anarchist art as well as by direct political action when ever possible. At the large demonstrations we are able to push our movement forward by the organizing and subsequent action of our Black Bloc.

At Demonstrations

It is by virtue of the uncompromising militancy of this (our) Bloc that Liberal demonstrations are transformed into insurrectionary happenings. By physically defending ourselves against State (police) attacks, we add a serious dimension to an otherwise timid movement. By effectively defending non-violent protesters against the assaults of the police (such as at the A16 action in DC) we demonstrate

particularities of our local communities.

In this capacity we must be vigilant not to limit our dialectical interactions with the movement itself. In a word, we must continue to reach out to the yet included masses. For it is only through their direct participation that the present system of oppression will be forever disintegrated and thrown into the wastebasket of history.

The Development Of The Movement

For all of the above reasons, this past year has been marked as a progressive stepping-stone towards the continuing resurgence of the revolutionary Anarchist movement. This in spite of certain painful set backs

the extra-symbolic power of the people while increasing the relative effectiveness of the overall action. By attacking and destroying Capitalist private property (such as in the Battle of Seattle) we go beyond rhetoric and actually inflict real material damage upon the urban out-posts of the oppressive and totally uninteresting commodified empire of the new Capitalists. By our method we transform indecisiveness and restraint into REAL action.

Those upper middle class Pacifists who clamor that we are wrong by virtue of our demonstrated principles should be reminded that the only legitimate goal of mass demonstrations is to effect relevant social



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and revolutionary change for the benefit of the working class, poor, and declassed peoples. It is not, nor never should ever be, to be arrested and brutally beaten for the sake of some vain association with Gandhi or Martin Luther King Jr. Furthermore, let us all reflect upon the fact that India today is presently in shambles due to continued Capitalist exploitation, and the American Blacks are still treated as second-class citizens by the State apparatus and plutocracy alike. These are travesties that only a genuine and victorious international revolutionary Anarchist movement, utilizing both violent and non-violent methods, will be able to fully rectify.

4. Preparation for eventuality of intensified State oppression and the shifting of the movement of social protest into that of direct social revolution

5. Increased internal social and political education between actions and development of theory

At the present time, the mobilization of our forces is done in such haphazard manner that our ability to combat well-trained and disciplined State forces is limited. In fact it is only by virtue of our revolutionary dedication and iron constitutions that we have been able to combat these forces with the level of relative success that we thus far have. They (the forces of the State) fight out of hatred of diversity and free expression and for a paycheck. We fight

downs can, at this historical juncture, result in effective occupation of large sections of the city-scape. J20 showed how a tightly knit Bloc, lined with defensive banners around its perimeters, can help foster confidence and act as a more substantial deterrent to targeted police arrests. A20 showed how even a relatively small Bloc (as on Saturday, the 21st) can become a substantial fighting force when the physical and mental commitment is there. However, our experiences have also illustrated certain shortcomings that we thus far are yet to overcome. Specifically our lack of a democratic tactical command structure has hindered our abilities to act with more punctuating speed and tactical ferociousness. In



It is in this very real context that we fight. We will not, nor should we, compromise our hatred or love any more than we will compromise our goal of complete social revolution, Anarchy, and the dream of all of humanity unshackled from the chains which are both seen and unseen.

We make no apologies.

The Necessity Of Increasing Our Tactical Abilities

The forces of the State (specifically the FBI and police) have been studying us for some time. Hence it is absolutely necessary that we further develop our tactical understanding and practical street abilities if we are to maintain, and in fact increase our militant capabilities.

In this regards there are some basic steps that we must take in order to meet this challenge:

1. Increased organization of street fighting force
2. Regular physical training in between actions
3. Facilitation of pre-emptive strikes

out of hatred of oppression and love, and simply because it is the just thing to do.

However, as the agents of the State modify their present tactics, based on their direct experiences and vast intelligence reports from Seattle to Quebec City, they can be expected to achieve a further level of effective superiority over us in the near future. Therefore, it is absolutely necessary that we begin to reorganize ourselves in such a way as to again bring certain advantages to our side.

Increased Tactical Ability Of Street Fighting Force:

The Formation Of An Elected Tactical Facilitation Core

Our experiences over the course of the last year has taught us a lot regarding the actual and potential effectiveness of Black Blocs during large demonstrations. A16 demonstrated the effectiveness of a large Bloc when used in tight conjunction with non-violent, direct action oriented contingents. It showed us how the combined tactics of physical self defense (from the Bloc) and non-violent lock-

certain circumstances this failure has resulted in us becoming bogged down in indecisiveness (specifically regarding movement), and hence has put us in danger as well as lead to arrests (i.e. on the Monday of the A16 action). Therefore, we contend that we need to develop a democratic tactical command structure that heightens our mobility while simultaneously not compromising our Anarchist principles.

In regards to this, we propose that the present use of elected affinity group spokes people be expanded to that of acute tactical facilitator (a-tacs). The role of this person should be to help facilitate the organized movement of their immediate section as recommended by the general tactical facilitation core (*to be discussed below). In addition, each affinity group should also elect an alternate in case the first is incapacitated due to injury or arrest.

Following the general meeting of the Black Bloc, at which the broad plans for the days action should have already been discussed, debated and then decided upon based on consensus, all such elected a-tacs should

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meet in private (such privacy here is recommended as a security precaution). At this meeting a general tactical facilitation core (g-tacs) should be elected, again by consensus. These g-tacs should act as the facilitators of Bloc movement in such a way as it complies with the general plan of action as defined at the prior open meeting. The identity of the g-tacs will be made discreetly known to all trusted affinity group members through their elected spokes/a-tacs as befitting following the conclusion of the closed spokes meeting. Any affinity group which has had their a-tac elected to the tactical facilitation core should elect a new a-tac.

In cases in which the Bloc is expected to be large and to march on mass, affinity groups should be made responsible for specific positions within the Bloc; specifically the front, right side, left side and rear (this should be done at the general open meeting). This would essentially create four main perimeter clusters within the Bloc. (Note: the use of clusters is further discussed below.) In turn the elected g-tacs should number 12 persons. These persons should emanate out of the perimeter clusters, which they will be responsible for (this will be further discussed below). These twelve should be further divided into four groups of three. In turn these three should be positioned as such:

1. A person at the specific perimeter cluster, which they will be directly responsible for (front, rear, left or right).
2. A person near the middle of the Bloc where they will be together with the representatives of the other perimeter clusters.
3. A person to act as a runner between their perimeter cluster g-tac and the g-tac group in the middle.

In general, all time sensitive decisions specifically regarding movement should be recommended by the consensus of the central g-tac core based on information emanating from the specific perimeter tacs, and reliable reconnaissance information.

In addition, these g-tacs should also entail certain role specific support persons in order that they are able to function efficiently and safely. Hence, all g-tacs stationed at the perimeters should be equipped with two persons from their affinity group or otherwise. One of which should be responsible for maintaining radio communication with reconnaissance teams and/or other important constituents. The other should be present in order to watch the tac's back. We must be aware of the fact that these folk will quickly be identified by the forces of the State, and therefore will likely be singled

out for arrest. Likewise, the central g-tac core should also be equipped with a few persons on radio, and a few persons concerning themselves with security.

Also, the specific roles of the various g-tacs, be it runner, perimeter person or core group, should be rotated as the days action ensues. Again, such a rotation is to limit any developing trend aimed at a psychological tendency towards authoritarianism amongst the central g-tac core. And again, it should be reminded that the function of these folk would primarily have to do with Bloc movement (i.e. which road to take, which way to go at an intersection). They will not be playing the role of generals or abstract leaders in anyway.

Here it is important to stress several things. First, we do not advocate the creating of a permanent officer clique. These elected positions should only last as long as the action at hand. If the action lasts more then a single day, then it would be good to elect new tacs for the different days. Also, their positions should be revocable by the general whole at anytime.

Lastly, the influence which they shall wield will not be beyond the role of facilitators of a general plan adopted to the general meeting of the Black Bloc. Any steps they may attempt to take beyond these perimeters would be grounds for dismissal. And of course, we are not advocating the formalization of any authoritarian army structure. It must be made clear that all participants in the Bloc innately reserve the right to disobey tac suggestions as well as to desert. In this the adoption of such a structure would be consistent with Anarchist principles of organization. The Anarchist militias recognized the need for such structure during the Spanish Civil War and so should we.

Individual Affinity Groups

Affinity groups (AG), generally numbering between 3 and 10 persons, should organize themselves in ways in which they see fit to reach their goals in the specific action at hand. Determining the focus of your AG in relevance to the specific action allows for the creation of a specialized AG.

Within these AG's, it is suggested that there be one person who carries a skeletal assortment of first aid equipment (saline solution, vinegar, lemon peels, water in a squirt bottle, rescue remedy). Furthermore, it would seem a very sound suggestion that every person involved in the Black Bloc take a basic first aid course, or have general knowledge of protest related first aid practices. Like physical training, being trained in first aid would heighten our overall combat abilities.

It should be decided if the AG must

use a radio/cell during the action. Radio/cell use may be needed in certain AG's, but by no means is it necessary to overflow the streets with unneeded communication devices. Communication can in turn be lost by the trampling of channels and untrained use. More radios will never be the answer to organization and information, but the strategic placing and use of these devices will forever enable our effectiveness. Roles of the other persons in the AG, in addition to the aforementioned role of the medic and possible use of a radio/cell operator, depend upon the type of AG (function). The AG should solely decide this themselves.

Types of specialized AG's include, but are not limited to, a front line (defensive), offensive, reconnaissance, property related, medic, support, noise, and pre-emptive.

A front line AG would contain shields and/or heavy body armor. This type of AG would potentially oversee the formation of the front line. They would motivate and call for other shields from within the Bloc, in aiding the formation of a solid line.

This AG would provide a rally point to help provide the bloc position. They would not be a part of a charge line, but instead hold as a point to retreat back to if the charge proves faulty. In addition, this AG is at the correct position to oversee the building of barricades.

An offensive AG should be highly mobile and enthusiastic. These AG's should be prepared for confrontation. The offensive AG can also come prepared to fill specialized tactical needs. Creativity is encouraged. The definition of this group will be left at this.

A reconnaissance AG operates outside of the Bloc, gathering information. Communication is held closely with the larger Bloc, keeping them informed of police movements and numbers. When State weaknesses are detected, this AG should inform the Bloc of opportunities for advancement.

The Bloc should have their own medic AG. For optimal coverage, medic groups could split to cover all sides of the Bloc as a whole. Having our own medics does not mean that they help only Black Bloc members, but ensures their movement with the Bloc.

Property related AG's also exist in our movement. The roles of these people should not be known to anyone who is not in that specific AG. In relation, information on AG's who form for pre-emptive strikes against the state should also be held from the Bloc. Any information on the plans or

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existence of these two groups will only weaken their security.

There are also support AG roles. One idea is an AG dedicated to dealing with panic situations. This group would number no more than a few groups per cluster/side (the use of clusters is explained below).

There could also be a supply and networking AG responsible for carrying food, water, and handing out communiqués to neighborhood people and non-Black Bloc protesters. The carrying water also has a dual purpose of use for eye washing if necessary.

A noise AG is useful in keeping enthusiasm and drive in tiring situations. The sound of music can create sudden drives of energy and joy within the Bloc where none exists, and can send a contradicting message of power to the enemy in battle. Creativity is also encouraged in this area; i.e. Black Bloc bagpipe players would bring immense courage and enthusiasm to many, as does radical cheerleading to others. We should continue to embrace, and forever elaborate, on this humanistic approach to battle through music and cheer. For this is in our favor, and the State is forever unlikely to employ such an emotional tactic.

Clusters

An affinity group should strive to be a part of a cluster of 5-10 diverse AG's. Each cluster should have its own flag to serve as a rally point. These flags distinguishable by different patterns or colors, would be used as markers. The purpose of these markers is to serve as a point of retreat, or simply as a visual aid if a person (s) is severed from an AG. Each cluster should be able to function as its own entity. To facilitate this, AG's should strive towards communication prior to attendance at the action.

Clusters naturally form based on trust relationships between diverse individuals and collectives, and should continue by these means. This being said, the general meeting of the Black Bloc should still be used as an opportunity for practical net-

working; such as what specialized AG's are needed to complete the offense, defense, and support of a cluster, enabling the cluster a fully functioning body. When a pre-organized cluster decides that it is lacking in certain of these categories, and when that cluster feels comfortable incorporating a relevant 'at large' affinity group into their fold, then by all means they should do so. Here, the more balanced and self contained we can make the various clusters the better. And, the more affinity groups are connected with larger functioning clusters, the more effective and secure the overall action will be.

Each cluster should take responsibility for certain aspects of the Black Bloc as an entity. The basic options for a cluster to choose from should be 1.) perimeter clusters, 2.) at large clusters and 3) reserve clusters (*reserve cluster are discussed below in the section titled reserves). The organization of the clusters into

defensive and offensive AG's/persons of each perimeter cluster work in organized conjunction with each other during times of need. For example, if the Bloc finds it necessary to retreat from a given position, all persons from within the effective perimeter cluster and all non-cluster/at large cluster folks carrying defensive equipment such as shields should maintain a position in the rear, facing the enemy, in order to cover the retreat from rubber bullets, bean bags, etc. Likewise, during offensive maneuvers, all persons equipped with the relevant offensive gear should place themselves in the front, as should a limited number of shield bearers in order to limit the effectiveness of the enemy baton. When necessary, relevant reinforcements from the other perimeter clusters should be prepared to move into the fray. However, this should only be done

when absolutely necessary in that it is always desirable to maintain a strong defensive perimeter around the Bloc as a whole. This is all common sense of course.

At large clusters should maintain positions within the space created by the formations of the four perimeter clusters. They should act according to their own direction, yet be prepared to reinforce the perimeter clusters, if attacked. Also, a major task for the at large clusters should be the organization of charging lines prepared to go over and through police/military defensive positions when and if desirable and/or necessary.

Towards this goal, it may prove desirable

to utilize tactics previously practiced by (among others) German Black Blocs. Namely that the interior of the Bloc be organized by straight lines (from right to left), each line being one, or two affinity groups. In turn, AGs forming an at large cluster should consciously position themselves in successive lines. Such lines make for tighter internal security, while clearly allowing for the Bloc to conduct sustained and successive charges against the enemy if and when such an action becomes necessary.

Property related AG's, be they connected with an at large cluster, or independent, should be allowed free access in and out of the body of the Bloc by the relevant perimeter clusters as necessary.

The organization, or rather ability



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to call for the practice of such above discussed maneuvers should often be expected to emanate from the g-tacs as manifest through the cooperation of affinity groups. For it will be the g-tacs who are generally most informed about the overall combat situation, and positioning of the Bloc. This is a tactical practice that the g-tacs should be prepared to responsibly facilitate.

All and all, the further incorporation of the above cluster model can be expected to result in ourselves achieving a higher level of immediate situational tactical ability than we currently possess. In addition, the demonstration of such abilities can be expected to frighten and demoralize the enemy.

Reconnaissance and Communication

It is necessary that the Bloc contains a sophisticated system of combat reconnaissance and communications. Reconnaissance should be conducted by pairs and/or affinity groups on bicycles equipped with radios and/or cell phones. In turn, the general tactical facilitation core should also be in possession of radios and/or cell phones. Through out the action, reconnaissance teams should be scouting out all possible avenues of Bloc travel and consistently be reporting back to the g-tacs. This way, the mobilization of the Bloc will be able to be conducted with a reasonable level of educated decisiveness.

Other elements of the reconnaissance folk should be operating in action zones not immediately in the vicinity of the Bloc. The purpose of these is to keep the Bloc informed on the general situation of the broader action, and in turn, be able to notify the g-tacs of potential hot spots where Bloc presence is required.

Individual Affinity groups who are in possession of radios should be informed as to the channels which such communications will occur. This way the Bloc as a whole will be generally informed in regards to the broader situation.

Also, non-Black Bloc affinity groups evolved in acts of civil disobedience should also be informed as to the channels of radio operation as well as the numbers of the relevant cell phones, so as to allow them the ability to call in for assistance when and where necessary.

Finally, as alluded to above, persons directly evolved in reconnaissance should be expected to emanate out of the various clusters. However, a more desirable method would be for a whole affinity group to converge on the action prepared to act as a specialized cell in and off itself. Preferably this group would reside

in the city in which the action is taking place, in that such persons would be in a better position to scout such already known urban terrain. In addition, those whom choose to act in a communications role need to have radio skills. Various codes and channels to use should be discussed only with other Bloc members who hold radios. There are several tactics which can be used when doing communications. Each cluster should arrive to the action with methods for communicating internally.

Reserves

Historically many battles have been won by the situational deployment of reserves as a tactical force. This tactic has traditionally been practiced and proven successful by the United States military and police departments. The use of a reserve force is not currently a tactic adopted by the North American Black Bloc. It is important that we consider this tactic as one that could potentially enable us to better combat the brawn of the State.

The State has always had the advantage over us when it comes to brute force. Their ability to use reserves, bringing in buses full of fresh, new, geared up soldiers, will always be a threat to us. We, on the other hand, spend hours/days fighting with the same gear and little, if any, relief from our strains. In all fairness, we must study the military tactics employed by State forces and adopt those elements which are relevant, effective, and consistent with our beliefs as Anarchists.

The potential use of Black Bloc reserves could prove empowering for several reasons. One being that the use of reserves has historically proven to be successful. Second, imagine the psychological effects this somewhat sophisticated tactic would hold over minds of the State. Both these point being said, this does not mean that reserves should always be used when a Black Bloc has presence at an action, it is only to say that such possibilities can be discussed during the general meetings of the Bloc. Deciding whether reserves will be used should occur in planning, before the acute manifestation of the action at hand.

When a reserve force is organized at an action, they can be used when the larger Bloc is surrounded by police. In this circumstance, the reserves are called in to fight a police line from the other side, resulting in the police being surrounded by the Bloc as a whole. In addition, reserves can be used to hold a location for the larger Bloc to later use as a destination for retreat. Sending in a smaller number of reserves could also be ideal for added force to push through a police line or barricade.

The US Army holds 1/3 of their people back as use for reserves. This is an ideal

number for a fighting force that can make a strong push when an optimal battle point is reached. With this in mind, when the Black Bloc reaches over 1,000, it would be desirable to hold 300 or so in reserve. This number should change with proportion. If the Bloc reaches 2,000, numbers held in reserve should reach about 600. If the Bloc is less than 1,000, no reserve should be posted. With such small numbers, a reserve force would only result in the general weakening of the Bloc, whereas, we need all able bodies for immediate release on the streets.

There are pros and cons for our Bloc to discover when and if there is a decision to use a reserve force. These must be recognized, and therefore it is important that options be discussed. City-scape (i.e. are the roads narrow or wide?). Bloc/police size, and the situation of the action on hand (are large portions of the city occupied by non-violent lockdowns or are police/national guard free to roam the urban terrain?) must be weighed. This should all occur at the general meetings of the Bloc. The details of forming a reserve, if any, and means of communication should be discussed after the election of the g-tacs at the spokes/a-tac meeting. Following the election, such sensitive information can be worked out at a g-tac meeting where only those with an immediate in trust are present.

This meeting should establish the location of the inactive reserves, as well as radio/ cell communication procedures. This reserve force should maintain radio/cell communication with the body of the Bloc by communicating with the g-tacs. Decision to mobilize should be placed in the hands of the g-tacs. Note that the g-tacs receive their information on the seriousness of combat and the need for reserves from cells of the larger Bloc. The g-tacs decision to mobilize a number of inactive reserves is given when groups within the larger Bloc call for backup. Relying on this is important in order to consider the many needs of the active members of the Black Bloc.

Deployment (where and how many) of the reserves should be left to the g-tacs. Specifics of how to meet this deployment through which streets to take, etc., should be left to the affected affinity groups. When speed becomes an issue, the elected a-tacs within the effected affinity groups should be prepared to make educated suggestions (which those effected are free to adopt or not). The exact location of the reserve forces should not be revealed to the Bloc as a whole. The only people who should be informed of their exact location should be the g-tacs. It is also suggested that location of the reserves are formally decided



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upon at the last moments, when the position is soon to be held. This is necessary in that the common knowledge of their location would expectedly result in this information leaking into police hands through common infiltration techniques. In turn, this knowledge would almost certainly result in the State (police) attacking our isolated forces.

All reserve forces should be divided into reserve clusters of roughly 50 persons each and be strategically placed around the action zone. reserve clusters of 50 would be desirable in that such a number is small enough to maintain optimal mobility and non-visibility (to the searching eyes of the State), while being large enough to maintain a minimum of self contained fighting ability. Such a reserve cluster would be large enough to fight their way through a regular police line if necessary (<=one row deep 24 across or <=two rows deep/12 across each), to reunite, when called for, with the larger Bloc. Dividing these forces into such smaller, more manageable reserve



clusters, allows for them to be called in as needed. It essentially skips the step taken to divide numbers of the reserved Bloc, and allows for greater security in the event that reserve locations are discovered by the State (where it is possible that one cluster is uncovered by the State, it is unlikely that all will be).

As alluded to above, it is not always necessary when reserves are needed, to call all of their existing numbers. The further division of these reserves into smaller clusters allows them to be called in based on geographic proximity and/or required force, and will result in optimal mobility.

When a relatively large number of reserves is called in, say three clusters of 50, they could converge on the acute scene of

battle from several directions. When properly utilized, such tactics could be expected to confuse and stifle the State's comprehension of the developing combat situation. It is also conceivable that such tactics could be coordinated so as such enemy forces are effectively flanked, there by forcing the enemy into retreat, or routing them entirely.

When the reserve force is inactive, a low profile must be maintained. They should keep a distance that places them away from acute attack, while being close enough so that the police cannot easily break their reemerging with the rest of the Bloc. The distance the reserve clusters fall back from the larger Bloc could be just a few city blocks, but nonetheless should be decided by the reserves clusters themselves, with g-tac input.

Lettering of the reserve clusters would be beneficial for g-tacs to better manage the location of these reserves. For example, reserve cluster B resides on the East side of the larger Black Bloc, and the g-tacs know this. The g-tacs is then able to call for reserve cluster B,

(simply be referring to "cluster B") without giving an extraneous amount directions and information over the radio/cell, therefore resulting in less information for the State to get their hands on. We should assume always that there are infiltrators leeching around us, and the word 'reserves' should never be used when communicating in public.

Prior to the reemerging with the Black Bloc, combat with the State should be avoided by these reserves, unless in self-defense, or unavoidable. Maintaining a low profile is vital. It is desirable that the reserves de-Bloc and become 'regular'. Black Bloc clothing should be worn underneath 'regular' clothing. This enables the reserves to blend in better and become less distinguishable as members of the Black Bloc to police helicopters and informants of the State. When they are called for by the g-

tacs, the reserve cluster(s) should remove their 'regular'. Clothing to reveal their true colors underneath. The 'regular' clothing could be discarded and thrown away. However, keeping a change of clothing on your person for later use is, of course, a personal decision. However, anything, which is not of absolute necessity, should not be carried.

The absolute condition necessary for reserve effectiveness is deployment speed. Without this, they may be prevented from reemerging with the larger Bloc and/or fail to reach the scene of acute action at a time where their force can swing their immediate struggle in our favor. For this purpose the reserves should be organized as a sort of light infantry. They should possess only the minimum of riot gear to refrain from their being weighted down. This means that they should eliminate gear which would obstruct in quick lightweight movement, such as helmets, shields, heavy body armor, or large backpacks. They should be equipped only with gas masks or vinegar soaked bandannas, and a minimum of offensive gear (as individuals of affinity groups see necessary). The only exception with this should be the medics, who should carry a skeleton assortment of related equipment. It would be ideal if all reserves were equipped with bicycles so that the greatest level of mobility could be reached. Such bicycles can be used for offense and defense, and must be discardable. However, in the absence of such bikes, reserve clusters should be composed of affinity groups/individuals who are in good cardiovascular shape. These forces must be prepared to run up to a mile at full speed, and then immediately engage in battle. This is something to keep in mind when such forces are being initially organized.

When and where this reserve is utilized correctly with speed and strength, it can be expected to cause surprise and demoralization among the ranks of the enemy. The very fact that we demonstrate these fairly sophisticated maneuvers can be expected to result in the enemy questioning their personal security and apparent tactical superiority. It is just such objective a subjective shifts and developments at the acute scene of conflict that can and will lend itself to the swinging of fighting momentum to our side. Of course, this positive development can and will only be sustained if the Bloc holds fast in the face of the increased police ferociousness and brutality in the conflict at hand. This situation should be expected to occur in direct relation to police feeling that they are in real danger due to our utilization of serious tactics. Here, one should recall that all animals are most dan-

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gerous when they are backed in a corner and sense their own demise.

Additional Security Precautions: Maps, Radios, IDs, Names, Etc.

While it is sensible that all affinity groups (all persons for that matter) have a detailed map of the area of operation, it has been proven that such maps must absolutely be marked only in code. During the R2k action in Philly, at least two Black Bloc individuals were arrested in a pre-emptive strike approximately forty-five minutes after a Black Bloc meeting (at which they were in attendance) and an hour and a half prior to the demonstration proper. On their persons were maps of the downtown equipped with penned in locations of the various Black Bloc emergency convergence sites as well as areas where the Bloc intended to focus their activity as well as locations where they planned on marching in order to accumulate material for barricade construction when and if the days developments demanded.

These maps were not encrypted, and therefore, by detaining, searching and subsequently recovering these maps from these individuals the police achieved the advantage of knowing the intended movement of the Bloc before it happened. It is impossible to know exactly what affect this intelligence had on the day's events (as it is also difficult to surmise weather or not the police had informants at the prior meeting as some have maintained), but regardless, this mishap represented a major slip in security. Therefore, it is absolutely necessary that for now on all such maps be encrypted so as to avoid this slip up.

In addition, all radio communication should be conducted with the use of pre-planned codes and frequencies where and whenever possible. All such codes and frequencies should be made known to all parties who have a legitimate interest in maintaining radio communication with us.

Also, it should go without saying that nobody, under any circumstances should carry any form of ID or personal contact information. If you get arrested with this information it will only be used to fuck you.

Lastly, do not refer to yourself or others you know by your real full name while in the vicinity of the action. The less we make public our actual identities the better off we are regarding possible legal action and State harassment.

Communiqués

It is important that all Black Bloc actions be followed with a comprehensive communiqué, which is,

whenever possible composed by a large representative volunteer committee from the various affinity groups. This communiqué should discuss the action in terms of why it occurred, why specific conflicts/tactics developed >and how this immediate struggle is connected with the broader Anarchist movement towards a liberated and creative world.

To achieve this, a post action meeting should be arranged at a secure location. The details of when and where it will be held should be decided upon at the pre-action meeting of elected a-tacs/spokes people (after all other issues are resolved) or at the general pre-action meeting of the entire Black Bloc (also after all other issues are resolved).

Such communiqués are important in regards to reaching out to the broader populous, as well as to debunking the demonization of our activities as can be expected to emanate out of the corporate press (and also often from the Liberal Left and orthodox/conservative Communist press).

In addition to a post-action communiqué, it is also important that separate communiqués be composed prior to the action and distributed during the action. These should also discuss the reasons why we take to the (our) streets the way we do as well as address the broader social issues which brought us to the action at hand. The individual affinity groups should facilitate these. In turn the affinity groups and/or relevant support persons/support AG's should take the responsibility of distributing them during the action to the public and the Left-independent media as they see fit. All such communiqués should be signed with the name of the responsible affinity group or individual as to maintain accountability. All anonymous statements must be assumed to emanate out of the bowels of State, with the purpose of discrediting us.

Anarchist Principles of Tactical Leadership

The idea of setting up such a democratic chain of command is not to diminish the free spontaneity of the Bloc, but is simply to increase the general mobility and fighting ability of the Black Bloc during time of need.

The primary functions of the above discussed general tactical facilitation core (g-tacs) will simply be to guide the direction of Bloc movement and the ability to call for the deployment of reserve clusters. In regards to the former, this would minimize regrettable time consuming debates as to "which way to go at various intersections." The more we can avoid such time consuming indecisiveness the better, as such slow downs carry with them the potential to put the whole Bloc in danger of police surrounding and subsequent immobilization. And given the forces of the State's ad-

vantage in weaponry, immobilization is akin to defeat. Such was the case during the A16 action on Monday, where shortly thereafter the tail end of the Bloc (who was then immersed with non-Bloc elements) was cordoned off by police and subsequently arrested.

In regards to the later, such ability to call in reserves at relevant time could be the deference of immediate victory or defeat. And, in this case it is necessary to place this ability in the hands of the elected g-tacs in order to guard against any misuse brought on by agent provocateurs, and/or to prevent general time consuming tactical debates which the heat of direct conflict do not allow for.

With this proposed organizational model, a relatively small Black Bloc (containing no reserves) numbering roughly 200 would have the effectiveness of twice that number in regards to our present abilities. And likewise, a larger Bloc numbering 700, with a reserve force of 300, would dramatically gain in tactical ability.

Physical Training In Between Actions

In between actions it is of vast importance that we increase our physical abilities through the practice of regular exercise, muscle building and self-defense training. At present, the Black Bloc is considerably lacking in certain of these compartments. This is true to the point where individuals who possess muscle tone are sometimes distrusted as potential police agents.

The fact is, if we are going to defend ourselves against the forces of the State, we should take our physical conditioning at least as serious as our enemy, and preferably more seriously. The reactionary police and military are aware of the importance of this in regards to their own effectiveness, and so should we.

Pre-emptive Actions

The forces of the State are regularly known to take pre-emptive measures against demonstrators prior to their actions. They regularly infiltrate us and make arrests before any general demonstration or acts of civil disobedience begin. They also start their tactical mobilization long before the sun comes up prior to the demonstrations on any particular day. In order to neutralize this advantage, limited elements presently engaged in Black Bloc actions should independently take counter-measures. Here sabotage of police (and when necessary, National Guard) equipment is our best bet.

Fore, if one of the primary advantages of the forces of the State is their



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mechanized mobility, then we should strike out against these repressive tools by effective, clandestine means.

Separate affinity groups under their own direction should voluntarily coordinate such actions. These groups should number very few in relation to the broader Bloc, and should not take part in any subsequent above ground actions thereafter during the day's events. In addition, the intent and identity of these groups should obviously remain absolutely secret to the Bloc as a whole.

There can be no chain of command between them and the rest. They must operate completely on their own, voluntarily, and by structural models of their choosing (as long as they are consistent with Anarchist principles of organization). Such clandestine activity, if preformed effectively, holds the possibility of considerably disrupting the abilities of the enemy, and therefore can substantially place new advantages with the Black Bloc.

Preparations For Increased State Repression

The stronger our movement becomes, the more likely it will be that the State will more thoroughly criminalize Anarchism, specifically of the Black Bloc variety. As we speak, we must assume that the FBI has already compiled a dossier on many of us. We must also assume that many of our local Anarchist organizations and collectives are already being watched and that infiltrators are working on penetrating our ranks; in certain cases we have no doubt that they already have.

In addition, as our movement progresses into more serious phases, we must anticipate a much more violent State reaction against us. This clearly occurred in the late 60s and we must fully understand that it will happen again. This tendency is already developing a clear trajectory. The shooting of three demonstrators at the Gothenburg protests, and the killing of Carlo in Genoa illustrates this as an undeniable fact.

As committed revolutionaries of practical mind, we must prepare for eventualities. This is no game. In such we must form clandestine networks where in we can maintain the ability to exist as an underground fighting force if and when the circumstances demand. Such an underground force must entail, among other things, access to alternative identification, known and trusted safe houses, friends in strategic positions, access to materials of necessary subsistence (i.e. food, medicine, etc.), an underground means of communication, ways to pass unseen through



international borders and the know how to continue our militant activities underground.

The fact of the matter is, when our above ground activities draw the repeated and predictable response of police shotgun blasts, the mass long term incarceration of our militants, or when it all becomes a socially acceptable farce within the blanket of the spectacle, then we must be prepared to meet the challenges of the State by other means: still militant and un-abstracted, yet underground.

Furthermore, it must be understood that when extreme crisis situations occur, the kind of which that would force us underground, there will not be the time to organize the basic means of such an existence. Likewise, when the greater social break down of the presently dominate system occurs, there will not be time to organize a solid popular fighting force. Therefore, we must prepare now for that which we recognize as an inevitable outcome of our revolutionary activities.

We must and will attack the leviathan head on, then from the shadows, and then again face-to-face. The only result can be social revolution.

Here we would like to remind you that firearms are still legal, as of print, and easily attainable in the United States.

Development Of Our Social and Political Understandings

Lastly, we must practice self-discipline in regards to our continuing practical and theoretical studies of social and political ideas during the times in between actions. For the Anarchist movement, as stated by Bakunin, is driven by "the instinct to rebel", but it is also done so by the conscious emergence of a revolutionary people. The folk who make up the Black Bloc should be examples not just of Anarchist fighting courage, but also of Anarchist

awareness. We should study the histories of the Paris Commune, Revolutionary Ukraine, Kronstadt, Spain, as well as the Paris revolt of 68'. In addition we should read the writings of Bakunin, Kropotkin, Mahkno, Emma Goldman, Meltzer, Guy Debord, and Bookchin to name but a few.

In a word, we must expand our relevant understandings in order to completely transcend the oppressive indoctrination that the State has perpetuated on us since the time of our birth. We must exercise our capacity for understanding in order to realize our creative consciousness. And finally, we must strive to further develop Anarchist theory in directions directly relevant to the contemporary modes of neo-Capitalism: namely that of radical commodification and consumerism.

Conclusion

In conclusion, this communiqué is put forward with the intent to spark the constructive development of our revolutionary abilities. It is not meant to be authoritative inasmuch as it is intended to facilitate a positive internal dialogue. However, it is our hopes that at least some of the above suggestions are seriously debated and then adopted by our fellow Black Bloc Anarchists.

We encourage you to replicate and distribute this communiqué however you choose (as long as it is not done for Capitalist profit).

In Solidarity,

Anti-Racist Action
Green Mountain Anarchist Collective

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THE COMMUNITY FOR LIBERTARIAN SOCIALISM

Mission Statement: The Community for Libertarian Socialism will be a place where libertarian socialists, revolutionary anarchists, and left-libertarians of all sorts can come together to learn and teach tactics, strategy, theory, radical philosophy and skills useful for the radical transformation of society towards an anti-authoritarian, anti-capitalist ideal. In order to serve this function, the Community for Libertarian Socialism intends to become a forum through which individuals and groups can maintain offices at and hold meetings, gatherings, conferences or retreats which reflect the Community's stated beliefs.

The Community for Libertarian Socialism intends to become a place where people live and a venue for radical events closely linked to the libertarian socialist and anti-authoritarian revolutionary movement. It is also to be an open resource for the libertarian socialist movement while at the same time maintaining itself as a sustainable intentional community comprised of individuals within this movement.

The Community for Libertarian Socialism strives towards being an example for society through its non-hierarchical and participatory organizational practices, while at the same time aiding the further development and propagation of libertarian socialist theory and practice. The Community for Libertarian Socialism will be a place for people interested in changing society, not escaping from it.

We at the Community for Libertarian Socialism project have found what we believe to be an ideal location for the CLS community.

We are currently looking at a property located in the small hamlet of Star Lake in Lawrence County, upstate New York.

The property itself is set along the shore of Star Lake and includes approximately 40 acres of land, mainly forest, as well as 17 buildings. These buildings include a Main Lodge, dining hall, modern kitchen, offices, classrooms, a "lecture hall," garage, boathouse, workshop, recreation hall, photo lab, housing capabilities for anywhere between 60 and 120 people approximately, and much more. This property is being sold "turn key," meaning that everything is in working order.

A property such as this opens great possibilities for camping, rowing, direct action workshops, conferences of all sorts, free schools, anarchist retreats, permanent offices for different groups and organizations, space for extensive anarchist archives, and almost anything else one can think of.

Furthermore, the area of Star Lake is noted for year round recreational activities associated with the outdoors, particularly hiking, boating, fishing (for those who desire to do so), and camping.

We have also chosen this property because we feel that it is in the best possible location to involve as many anarchists and revolutionary anti-authoritarians as possible, as it is within a reasonable driving distance from many large urban centers. Driving distances from some major cities in the Northeast and Midwest are the following:

Baltimore: 8 hours, 15 minutes, Boston: 7 hours, 10 minutes, Detroit: 8 hours, 56 minutes, Montreal: 3 hours, 50 minutes, New York City: 6 hours, 56 minutes, Ottawa: 2 hours, 29 minutes, Philadelphia: 6 hours, 30 minutes, Quebec: 6 hours, 13 minutes, Toronto: 5 hours, 6 minutes, Washington, DC: 9 hours, 5 minutes.

The importance of a place where anarchists can organize, hold activities of different kinds, or even just take some time off from their day to day lives cannot be overstated. If we are to build a strong and effective movement, we need to begin setting up the long term foundations with which we can put into practice the principles of direct democracy, mutual aid, self-management, and decentralization. An endeavor such as the Community for Libertarian Socialism will, through its day to day functioning, provide for yet another practical example of the effectiveness of anarchist and anti-authoritarian organizational models.

This project will not succeed unless it involves the participation of the entire revolutionary anarchist community. We cannot stress enough the point that, once we have this piece of land, people should not look at it as a closed community or some sort of anarchist vacation resort, but as a place open at all times to anarchists that want or need to use it, whether it be to spend a free weekend away from the city, organize a conference, workshop, free school, or training, or whatever else may come to ones mind. We intend for this to be a year round resource for the anarchist movement. The possibilities are endless!



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POLITICAL PRISONERS

REPRESSION IN GOTHENBURG AND GENOA

After the heavy fighting in Gothenburg, and the subsequent safe escape of most of those who participated, the Swedish state has decided to try to make examples of those it did manage to apprehend by dishing out exceptionally stiff sentences.

There are currently twenty eight people in jail. These are three Germans, twelve Danes, and ten Swedes, as well as an Italian, a Finn, and a Briton.

The charges include riot, violent riot, theft, preparation of assault and sabotage, sabotage, assault on a civil servant, and vandalism.

The sentences range from one month in prison to four years. For Sweden, these are harsh sentences.

A solidarity group has been established that takes care of delivering books and correspondence to prisoners, as well as money for cigarettes, food, and phone calls.

It is imperative that we show all these prisoners are total solidarity. Send them letters of support via the solidarity group, but most of all, send money to make their time in prison a little more bearable.

To make a contribution, please contact solidaritetsgruppen@hotmail.com and they will direct you as to the best way of making a contribution from your area.

To send materials to a prisoner directly

(name of the person)
Box 216 401 23
Gothenburg
SWEDEN

To send materials to the solidarity group and then to prisoners:

Solidaritygroup GBG
c/o Syndikalistiskt Forum
Box 7267 402 35
Gothenburg
SWEDEN

CLS CONTINUED FROM PAGE 35

While the land we are seeking to purchase in upstate New York represents a deal that comes along once every long while, there is still a lot of money to be raised. The total cost of the land is \$475,000, making it likely that this will be a fundraising campaign that will last for several years. Of course, there is no guarantee that the property will not be bought by somebody else while we are raising the money. If this occurs, we will put the money raised towards another suitable location for the CLS.

However, in order to avoid this happening, we need to conduct as aggressive of a fundraising campaign as we can, and we will need all the help we can get. There are many ways to get involved...

-Organize benefit concerts, dinners, forums, movie screenings, and whatever else in your area.

-Send us addresses or contacts of people who you think would be interested in getting involved or sending money and we will be sure to send them CLS information.

Although few are still imprisoned as a result of the events during the meeting of the G8 in Genoa, the political repression is nonetheless heavy.

The Italian state is insisting on pinning heavy charges on many individuals from throughout Europe.

An anarchist defense group, called the "Anarchist Committee for Defense and Solidarity" has been established and has been performing important work, not only on the legal front, but also in terms of organizing solidarity demonstrations in front of prisons as well as propaganda.

The contact information and wiring information are included below. Please support our comrades on trial and those working to help them.

Telephone number: +39.10.255797
mobile: +39.338.4149329

A/C # 34165159 (mail account number for subscriptions - by mail offices)

Attention: Francesco Carrella r
eason: SUPPORTO PER I DETENUTI DEL G8, which means, "support for those imprisoned by G8"



-Help us reduce the costs of printing fundraising and information material either by contributing money to the effort, or decentralizing the job by making and distributing your own copies.

-Space in magazines, journals, newspapers, and any other print media will be essential to getting the word out. If you are involved with a publication and are interested, please contact the Barricada Collective.

-If you know of, or work with, any institutes or foundations that might be interested in giving the CLS project a donation or grant, please contact us.

-Lastly, if you or any group or organization that you know of or are involved in, is interested in becoming more involved with the project, please do not hesitate to contact us, as we will be needing all the help we can get, and there are a variety of ways to get involved.

One of the functions that we envision the CLS having is that of archive/office space for groups that are in agreement with the general aims and principles of the CLS (precise Aims and Principles that will be made available shortly) and, while the space is limited, we are open to offering some sort of trade to groups that work with us to make this project a reality.

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BARRICADA #8. SUMMER/SEP. 2001

ONWARD TO WASHINGTON

The dust is still settling from the battles of the summer in Europe (not to mention those in other countries, such as Argentina, which are still raging), but already the time has once again come for a massive confrontation against the forces of the state and capital.

Once again, Washington DC will be the battle zone, and if we are to win this fight, we must be organized and well prepared. Helments, pads, and gas masks should be considered an absolute necessity. It is imperative that this time, we be stronger than ever, as the battle will only intensify. Given this reality, we would like to make public two warnings...

To those who shed crocodile tears and attempt to reap gain from the death of our comrade Carlo Giuliani, know that we see straight

through your games and your lies. Carlo was a true social revolutionary, who fought the state by any means necessary. He was one of those who you denounced as "hooligans" and "provocateurs." If you had the chance, you would kill him all over again.

You are nothing more than a part of the system that murdered him, and you will be killed along with it.

To the rulers of this world. No amount of police or fences will ever make you safe from the anger of the oppressed. Our comrade Carlo did not die in vain, and his murder will not go unpunished. You will pay gravely.

Carlo, like thousands before him, died with the dream of a new world in his heart and it is our job to build it, on your ashes.

WE NEVER FORGET, WE NEVER FORGIVE CARLO LIVES, IT IS YOU WHO ARE DEAD

THE BARRICADA COLLECTIVE

REVOLUTIONARIES OF THE WORLD: ORGANIZE AND CONVERGE ON WASHINGTON

On September 29th and 30th 2001, the International Monetary Fund and World Bank will try to hold their bi-annual meetings in downtown Washington, DC. Both these institutions exemplify how capitalism promotes poverty, racism, sexism, environmental destruction, and social injustice in the name of so-called development.

Both the IMF and the World Bank are merely the outward faces of a brutal elite bent on imposing its destructive economic regime on the entire world. We will not be content with reforming, or even abolishing the IMF/World Bank. We will not rest until every last bank has been burned, till the last memory of banks has been erased from our world. For only from the ashes of these banks and of capitalism itself can arise a new world of liberation, community, and harmony. We cannot wait, compromise, or petition for a better tomorrow. We must act now to present an anti-authoritarian alternative.

At the end of September a large-scale mobilization will descend on Washington to disrupt the IMF/WB meetings in solidarity with revolutionary movements throughout the world. We envision a joyous festival of resistance in the spirit of Seattle, Prague, and Quebec as well as a newfound energy that will bring these meetings to a

halt.

A tight but diverse Revolutionary Anti-Capitalist Bloc will be operating in conjunction with the creative action of autonomous cells to show our force at these meetings. We are calling for a diversity of tactics, and a mutual respect for all. We will succeed by any means necessary.

Cheerleaders of the revolution, artists, brigades of noise and marching bands, blocs of red and black (and clowns), communications scouts, bike mechanics and messengers, legal collectives, cooks, pirate radio operators, medics, DIY journalists, and puppetistas - whatever your passion is - we need you. Thousands will be in DC. Every victim of the police, every abused housewife, every bored teenager, every wage-slave waiting to break their chains, every last precious human being! Join the Anti-Capitalist Convergence and act on the ground as you see fit.

This fall's actions are just around the corner and there is still a lot to be done. We strongly suggest you come with a tight, well organized affinity group with mutual objectives, abilities and goals; bring supplies and necessary materials and familiarize yourself with the city before you hit the streets for action.

Contact the Anti-Capitalist Convergence (ACC) to find out how to plug in with the

larger organizing effort. Keep your eyes open for meeting times, and locations for the Revolutionary Anti-Capitalist Bloc on September 29th and 30th. Failure is impossible.

Please send all correspondence on the Revolutionary Anti-Capitalist Bloc to: wordsarenotenough@hotmail.com

For more information on general organizing efforts in DC, contact: The Anti-Capitalist Convergence - Sept. 24- Oct. 1: <http://www.abolishthebank.org>



BARRICADA #8. SUMMER/SEP. 2001

This Is What Direct Action Looks Like!

"Direct Action is representative of the combined battle against exploitation and oppression. It announces, with inherent clarity, the direction and orientation of the working class's endeavors in its relentless attack upon capitalism. It means that the working class, in constant rebellion against the existing state of affairs, expects nothing from outside people, powers or forces, but rather creates its own conditions of struggle and looks to itself for its means of action" -- Emile Pouget

The World Bank and International Monetary Fund control more investment capital and have more policy influence in the world economy than any other institutions. They restructure economies for neocolonialism, steering production to elite markets, while locals suffer for basic needs. They lower wages, proliferate sweatshops and repress organized labor. Their development projects are environmentally destructive. They privatize education, health care and water; burdens felt most heavily by women world-wide. They force relocations, and destroy communal possession of the land. All under the guise of neoliberalism--that racist irrationality which denies the historic and current realities of the mass exploitation and dehumanization of people of color, especially those living in the "Global South." These reasons, and more, make the World Bank and IMF the target of protests against the rising tide of capitalist globalization. However, the strength of the working class is not in protest--it is in direct action.

In the center of the corporate empire, the fortress of greed and arrogance is guarded by fire-proof storm troopers waging chemical warfare. Inside this fortress sit the mobsters of capitalism, loan sharks growing fat from offers that cannot be refused. The global capitalist police state is built on a foundation of lies. The heart of their "democracy" is a farce. It is a colony of tyranny. In a house of white supremacy hides a naked emperor surrounded by glory-hungry generals and power-hungry politicians--unelected, unaccountable, unwanted, and unnecessary. If this is what "democracy" looks like, we want none of it.

How can you speak truth to power, when it is from lies that power sprung?

How can you appeal to power, when it is through your acknowledgment that they rule?

How can you condemn self-defense, when their lies have always been backed with violence?

How can you condemn sabotage, when everywhere it is the accumulation of property and profit that destroys?

We want no seat at the table for a feast of blood money.

We march to nowhere, we march in circles. Hopping from summit to summit in hopes of being seen by the powerful, or even noticed by their lackeys in the media. Our signs are ignored. Our puppets are mocked. Our red & black banners torn and sullied. Our voices, cheers and songs are choked on gas. Our drums and dancing silenced by baton and bullet. Our cries for justice held in contempt. And still, we resist!

The crunch of glass under our feet does nothing to change our world. A spectacle of militant protest is quickly forgotten. Symbolic confrontation with an inner tube or a molotov cocktail is still symbolic confrontation. Dining on ashes does not satisfy our hunger. Protest, protest, protest... is not there ore than this? There is - direct action.

We call upon revolutionaries throughout the world to join the Anti-Capitalist Convergence against the globalization of oppression and neo-liberalism.

We will act without intermediaries, there can be no mediators in class struggle.

We will defy the authority of the state, their laws were only shackles.

We will violate the property of the capitalists, they can offer us nothing that wasn't already ours.

We will take direct action.

For anarchy and communism!

North Eastern Federation of Anarcho-Communists (NEFAC)- Roundhouse Collective (Baltimore), Sabate Anarchist Collective (Boston), Groupe Anarchiste Emile-Henry (Quebec City), Union locale de Quebec (Quebec), Barricada Collective (Boston), Green Mountain Anarchist Collective, Freyheyt (Toronto)

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-If you have any questions regarding the Star Lake property, would like to receive more CLS fundraising documents, or would like in any way to become involved in the fundraising effort, please contact the Barricada Collective via email at barricadacollective@hotmail.com

Or at... **Barricada**
PO Box 73
Boston, MA 02133
USA

-If you, or a contact of yours, is interested in making a sizeable donation but would like to see the property, receive more information, more pictures, speak to somebody in person or by telephone, please contact the Barricada Collective and you will be put in contact with

the person nearest to you.

-We are also very much interested in being put in touch with groups, institutes, foundations, or any other organization that might be interested in providing the Community for Libertarian Socialism grants or loans. Once again, if you can help in this area, please contact the Barricada Collective.

-Questions regarding the Community for Libertarian Socialism in general can be addressed to clsinitiative@hotmail.com

Likewise, questions and donations can be addressed to...

Community for Libertarian Socialism
PO Box 2159
Louisa, VA 23093
USA

-Checks or money orders should be made payable to "CLS"
To electronically send funds to our account...

System United Corporate Credit Union
307087399

Further Credit to Sunrise Credit Union
107089648

Final Credit to Community for Libertarian Socialism # 4242

For Freedom and Socialism

BARRICADA #8. SUMMER/SEP. 2001



2022.045

RACB Medical Bloc Initiative

Calling all Anarchist, Communists, Anti Capital Activists of any shape size color or tendency with Medical Training
For the Creation of a Direct Action Medical Bloc to appear in force during the Actions around The September 28 - October 4th IMF/WB Meetings.

The Medical Bloc will:

- Provide support to the RACB and it's tactical allies through the implementation and manning of Fast Response Medical Units. These Units will be equipped to deal with a wide variety of medical problems including: tear gas, pepper spray, mace, as well as trauma induced by water cannons, blunt force instruments, trampling, and other minor to serious medical conditions that could be encountered during direct action.
- The Medical Bloc intends to provide accurate and updated street map to all interested parties on a daily basis which will include, but not be limited to, an analysis of police strong points, subway access points, barricade and security fences positions and other points of knowledge which may be of use or interest to members of the RACB.
- The Medical Bloc proposes to offer cheap and effective eye protection to all interested by the purchase of cheap goggles to be distributed on site in the event tear gas is dispensed.
- The Medical Bloc proposes to provide cheap and effective facial covering to all desiring it through on site distribution of bandannas in the event that facial covering is made illegal and as a resultant effect numerous protesters come unprepared.
- The Medical Bloc proposes to deal with the logistics of fast extraction of all protesters who need medical attention to non-DC hospitals so that they do not risk arrest while their condition is being treated.
- The Medical Bloc proposes to defer all tactical decisions to the RACB as a whole and withstand from initiating conflict.
- In the event that conflict occurs the Medical Bloc affirms it's revolutionary consciousness and pledges to support the "by any means necessary" stance of the RACB.
- The Medical Bloc's Main agenda is to alleviate the suffering of any demonstrators affected by the "States Non-lethal weapon technology."
- The Medical Bloc sees as a mutually important tactic the need to assist the Black Bloc in avoiding arrest and if necessary extracting arrested or detained members of the Black Bloc

All interested parties should contact the Medical Bloc at: medicalbloc@hotmail.com

Revolutionary Anti-Capitalist Offensive

(in support and conjunction with the Revolutionary Anti-Capitalist Bloc Call)

The World Bank and IMF will meet in downtown Washington DC on Saturday, September 29th and Sunday, the 30th, and we will be there.

An Ordinance has been put in place by the police making it illegal to march in the downtown area, just stay in permitted parks, and 9 ft. fences will block off most of downtown around the World Bank, IMF buildings, and White House.

We are calling for an organized offensive against the World Bank, IMF, and all hands of the state and capitalism that try to force us to give up our freedom and barricade people out of the city. This Fenced Zone is yet another attempt on behalf of the state to silence the growing resistance movement and will not be tolerated. We are well aware that we will be outnumbered by the repressive forces of the state and vilified by the mass media, who will work to justify police repression and violence (4 people have died this year at the hands of the state taking part in anti-globalization demonstrations), hence a tightly knit and organized bloc is key to making the Radical-Anti-Capitalist -Bloc Offensive to be effective. We must work toward forming strong lines and a mobile structure that can withstand attempts of infiltration, misdirection and being separated or broken apart. We will also respect the fact we need to operate under a high level of security culture and discipline.

The state uses physical and psychological force to try and intimidate and stop us. We will not let these acts of brutality affect our determination to achieve our goals. We will fight against this brutality and intimidation by any and all means that are available to us.

As the repressive arms of the state become better organized and the pressure increases, we must respond in turn, by organizing ourselves not as a mob, but in a way that allows us to more effectively withstand police repression and violence, and accomplish our objectives.

We call upon people to organize themselves within tight affinity groups and to familiarize themselves with the DC downtown area and local issues. We urge people to bring materials to express a clear message against capitalism and the state.

Any corporation, institution, or government that profits from the suffering and misery of the people of this earth has declared a state of war against us and we will respond appropriately. The world of capitalism is our natural enemy and must be fought with all our resources, dedication, and discipline.

We will and must continue to fight against all the forces of hate, division, and tyranny that serve to separate and enslave us until we have achieved a classless, stateless, free society. Join the Radical Anti-Capitalist Offensive.

Contact: RACBOffensive@hushmail.com (only hushmail accounts will be responded to for security reasons-hushmail accounts are free)

Endorsing Organizations and Groups: Anti-Fascist Action Vanersborg (Sweden), Nippon Anarchist Collective, Green Mountain Anarchist Collective, Columbus Anti-Racist Action, Red and Anarchist SkinHeads DF (Mexico), Red and Anarchist SkinHeads Paris, Students for Economic Justice (Michigan), Brighter Days Collective, Active Transformation